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ISLAMIC REVIVAL IS HARBINGER OF NEW WORLD SYSTEM

Paris AL-MUSTAQBAL in Arabic 5 May 79 pp 39, 40, 45-52

/Article by al-Sadiq al-Mahdi: "File--Studies and Issues: Islam and Social Transformation!"]

/Text/ In the middle of March 1979, al Sadiq al-Mahdi stood before a group of British, Moslem and Arab intellectuals and diplomats in London and talked about Islamic issues related to the developments of the age.

This issue is the preoccupying concern of the Sudanese leader, who has been living for several months in London, because the causes which dictated his removal from Khartoum are still present.

AL-MUSTAQBAL, out of its appreciation of the importance of the issue, requested that the speech be written in Arabic (he had given it in English) and converted into a study which would give attention to addressing the Arab reader. He responded, for which he is to be thanked, and this study-dossier emerged.

The upsurge of Islam was a surge whose like mankind had never seen. It knocked on the door of history and opened it wide, and the Moslems poured forth with a vitality which made the world hear the call to the ultimate religion and absorbed human knowledge and philosophy in a manner which made the European Abelard (a learned man of the 12th century) believe that the two words "Moslem" and "philosopher" were synonyms. This vitality embraced the venerable tradition of the East with one result that W. M. Watt said, "there is magic in Islamic civilization's assimilation of the civilizations of the venerable Middle East, and its Islamization of these civilizations." In its upsurge, Islam rebuilt the social order anew to the extent that W. C. Smith said, "The Islamic social program was the broadest and most serious and determined in achieving social justice among mankind." The Moslems became diversified and expanded economic activity, in a manner causing M. Rodinson to describe them by stating, "They established the most extensive world market man knew before the establishment of the modern capitalist order."

In a talk I delivered last year at Omdurman Islamic University, I stated that it was Islamic culture which awakened Europe and moved it, through research and reform, to its brilliant modern renaissance. As Europe progressed toward the building of a modern civilization, Islamic culture proceeded to collapse until its embers grew cold.

When Europe met the Islamic world the second time, it was a meeting between one society which was replete with intellectual, political and technical strength and another which was slumbering and listless.

Europe fascinated the world with its achievements and drew people's attention toward it. The Moslems, and others, began to aspire to raise their material standard and their standard of living and to increase their military ability to imitate the new systems, equipment and technologies. That is, people everywhere began to want to build a modern society. I have called it modern, not European or Western, because Europe did not create it from a void--rather, it built on the achievements of other civilizations and developed these until modern civilization arose.

How can one build a modern society? Before us we have a collection of developmental theories. The Marxist theory considers that man's most important activity is directed toward earning a living. Therefore, economics is the most important of human activities and the basis of all of them. This is historic materialism, which considers that people are divided into classes according to their status in the production processes and the distribution of economic rent. It considers that these classes are in a struggle which is motivated by their contradictory material interests. It is this struggle which has moved human societies from primitivism to feudalism and from feudalism to capitalism, and will move them from capitalism to socialism. This is dialectic materialism.

Marx presumed that economic development in backward countries would proceed in accordance with inevitable, intrinsic elements and would lead to a social revolution similar to what occurred in Britain in the 17th century. However, this expectation has not been realized. Rather, development in America, the other Western European countries and Japan was influenced by the factors of nationalist incentive and national competition, promoting development and industrialization in order to arrest British supremacy. These factors played a great role in the industrialization of France, Germany and Japan. What happened in Russia was not an application of Marxist theoretical dicta. Lenin developed Marxist thought in the light of the Russian environment and in the context of changing international circumstances, benefiting from the collapse of the Russian state in the face of the German invasion in 1917. Under his leadership, the Communist Party took power and set forth from the new position of power to build the Soviet economy. This means that Communism, which had been a theory analyzing the inevitable results of development, became, as a result of Lenin's additions and Soviet experience, a movement imposing development upon the reality of backwardness, standing the relationship between economics and

politics on its head. Rather than having economic development lead to a new political system and a new social system, a political movement--the revolution--benefited from fortuitous circumstances--the war--to establish a new power, and the power established a new economic system: Soviet development.

From another standpoint, the American economics scholar Rostow states "All human concentrations lie in one of five stages (from the economic standpoint): the traditional stage, the pre-transformation stage, the stage of transformation, the stage of maturity and then welfare." He considers that political movements in backward countries counterattack colonialism and seek to rid themselves of its dominance by establishing a program of political and social reform which will open the way to economic development. (The theory of Rostow is valid as a description of what happened in Japan, but Japan's experience has not been repeated in other countries because the major industrial countries have dominated the world's economy and have established international economic, financial and commercial institutions to consecrate this dominance. These factors have played a role in aborting development in poor countries; even when great economic growth was achieved in some of these countries, this growth was and still is governed by strategic factors restricted by the interests of the major countries.

#### Between Marx and Rostow

The two theories of Marx and Rostow are in agreement on the following:

- A. Development is inevitable, and is socially and intellectually concerned with fully and conclusively liquidating the traditional social system existing today in backward countries.
- B. The tradition that a specific important class leads development and establishes a new social system, which is:
  - A social system resembling the Western one (Rostow and the role of the middle class).
- C. Consideration by both that the legacy existing in the backward countries and the accompanying traditional social system are of equal negative impact on development and stand in the way of the establishment of a new society.

I say that the position of the traditional legacy to backward countries on the issue of development, indeed on renovation of existing conditions, is not uniform. In the book "Classes, Crises and Coups d'Etat," the writer Peter Lloyd describes a study of social life in two villages, one called Agbaja in southern Nigeria and the other called Tajur in southern India. He found that in the Nigerian village land is the common property of everyone, that the tribal leader regulates the use of the land, that work is open and that everyone can rise up the social ladder. Meanwhile, property

ownership, job opportunities, and social status in the Indian village are connected to a strong class system (the Caste system), a system which connects evident social life, through reincarnation, to the people's gains in a previous life! People's property ownership, work and social status in Tajur are determined before they are born, and they accept neither transformation nor renovation.

#### Islam's Position on Transformation

Traditional societies' response to the issue of development and the challenges of social transformation differ widely in the negative and positive senses. What is Islam's position on the issues of social renovation and transformation?

To answer this current question one must turn back to the past.

"Islamic duties are of two parts: one part is connected to worship, which regulates the relationship between people and their lord; in this part, the basis is devotion and on this the texts in all are not deficient. To be precise, a person, in person, does not turn, in worship, to causes and goals on which similar matters have been based and are based. A person does not assign worship to himself which has not been assigned by the legislator of Islamic law on grounds that that worship is connected to a stipulated desired cause or appropriate wisdom. In spite of that prohibition, it is Moslems' duty to believe that these obligations are in people's interests even if there was no one who legislated on a basis of wisdom, interests or causes similar to worship. Rather, people must pause before worship in the stipulations, and what they refer to and what they contain, without acquiring additional knowledge. The second part of the obligations is related to interactions among human beings, and this is called customs, in the expressions of jurists. The basis in this part is attention to meanings and causes for whose sake provisions have been legislated by the agreement of jurists. In these matters, the duty has been to create a superior Islamic community based on justice, equality and excellency." ("Marriage and Divorce in All Religions" by Shaykh 'Abdallah al-Maraghi, p 118)

Reference has been made repeatedly by Islamic scholars to the distinction between what entails permanence and what entails movement. Abu Ja'far al-Naqib referred to it in his description of the program of the companions of the prophet of God (may God's prayers and blessings be upon him) (see the description of Ibn Abi Hadid, Part 3, p 116).

Al-Manar's interpretation (Part 10), mentions a comment by Najm-al-Din al-Tufi (the Hanbalite) on the prophet's tradition "there is no loss or damage" by stating "This tradition is a basis of Islamic law, and it means that every beneficial thing is necessary and is most fit to be followed." He also stated, "This does not lead to the statement that transmitted texts will determine what is beneficial, because we have ordered that we should



render judgment ourselves, as far as public interests are concerned, not as far as worship goes, because worship has been established permanently and only the proper transmissions for interpreting it are permitted."

Shaykh 'Abdallah al-Maraghi said, "We see some Hanbalites and Malikites have gone even farther, attributing Koranic and prophetic texts to individual interests, as long as they are concerned with things human as opposed to religious matters." ("Marriage and Divorce in All Religions," p 120).

The following facts stress that our forefathers committed themselves to this platform. Some steps by the commander of the faithful, 'Umar ibn al-Khattab, were mere independent judgment, not founded on reasoning by analogy or on consensus. In the days of his caliphate, new events and social problems occurred for which there was previously no stipulation, and his solicitude for the public interest made it essential that he establish provisions for these matters. He established the diwan, a Persian and Byzantine institution, to organize the finances of the state. He exempted thieves from having their hands severed in years of drought. He imposed [capital] punishment on people who killed one man, even though the killers were numerous. He compensated generous spirits for their share of the tithe because God made Islam glorious and made them content. He stipulated that lands which were conquered forcibly by Islam were to remain in the possession of their inhabitants, although the land tax was to be levied on them, and that the lands were not to be divided among Islamic warriors, as was the case with booty. He prohibited the cutting off [of the hands] of servants of a woodcutter who had stolen the she-camel of a man from Medinah, although they had confessed to the theft, and told the servants' master, "Had I not known that you are employing them and starving them to the point where if one of them eats what God has prohibited it would be legal for him to do so, I would have cut off their hands. By God, since I do not do so I will impose a penalty on you which will hurt you." The commander of the faithful exempted the Christians of Taghlib and Najran from the non-Moslem head tax as a reward for their loyalty to the Islamic state.

The Islamic schools of thought stressed legislative stipulations which are included in the [holy] book, the Sunnah [sayings and doings of the prophet], and consensus; they derived new provisions by reasoning by analogy, created provisions through the application of discretion [istihsan] (in this the Hanafites were distinguished) and through the principle of public advantage [istislah] (most of which was Malikite), and included customs and traditions which did not negate Islamic rules, through the arrogation of concomitant facts (the Shafi'ites were known for this). The degree to which the imams and partisans of the schools relied upon these means varied and their interpretations of various Koranic texts and prophetic traditions differed; they also differed on the validity of the chains of transmission of the prophetic traditions and on abrogating and abrogated Koranic verses, and they differed on the adoption of opinions which were not supported by stipulations. This all means that their methods varied. In addition, signs of the social environment in which they lived appeared in their decisions.

For example, the character of paternal guardianship prevailed in the environment of Medina, whose society put more emphasis on moral values and gave less attention to class distinctions. These features were reflected in some of the provisions of the Malikite school, which arose in Medinah: "No marriage without a guardian; premeditated marriage by an intermediary spouse is void, and forced divorce is void. Capability is stipulated for women in marriage, and there is no capability except through religious devotion and piety; anything other than that is a waste."

The social environment in al-Kufah was diverse, had a cross-fertilization of civilizations, and was more capable of recognizing the rights Islam had guaranteed to women. The environment of al-Kufa also gave greater recognition to class distinctions, placed less emphasis on moral values, and took a more formal view of legal affairs. The effects of these features appeared in some individual judgments in the Hanifite school; for example, Hanifites said that women have been given the right to dispose of what they possess by agreement and that it would be preferable for women to do this themselves. In support of that, the Koran has entrusted marriage to women; Almighty God said,

"If he divorces her, then she is not to be allowed him subsequently until she marries a husband other than him," He said, "Do not prevent them from marrying their husbands." He entrusted women with their own hands, indeed permitted them to make marriage contracts with others. They derived proof of that from the fact that 'A'ishah, the wife of Hafsa, brought about the marriage of her niece, the daughter of her brother 'Abd-al-Rahman while he was absent, and when he appeared the marriage continued.

Proof of interest in class distinctions is provided by their statement (the statement by Abu Yusuf and Muhammad) that contracts are not binding if marriage is not among equals. Regarding the tendency toward formalism in legal matters, proof of that lies in the fact that to them an intermediate husband is permitted if he is an adolescent close to puberty, and when he marries the wife, she then becomes permissible for her first husband. Indeed, if the husband himself intends to legitimize the wife for her first husband, by marrying her without so specifying in the agreement, then the wife is permissible for him. Another proof of formalism among those people is the fact that forced divorce is not void. The Ja'fari school, which is connected to the Hanifite in that it arises in a similar social environment, applies the individual judgment of the Hanifite school in all the matters which have been mentioned here.

Following the growth of the two schools of Imam Abu Hanifah and Imam Malik, the need arose to determine analogies and develop methodologies for deducing provisions through those analogies. It was Imam al-Shafi'i who responded to this need; he organized the principles of Islamic jurisprudence and set out an overall canon law which is referred to for ascertaining the degrees of legal proofs. Imam al-Shafi'i had an old school which was close to the



Malikite school and a new school more committed to the methodology he deduced and more influenced by the modern Egyptian environment in which it became established.

In the third century after the Hegira [10th century AD] the Moslems' fears for the [unity of the] nation which were due to differences in interpretation and deduction and for the repercussions of imported ideas, increased. The Hanbalite school was the last of the four schools and it arose in response to a desire to be inflexible and conservative. At its inception and during the following centuries Hanbalism was a symbol of inflexibility in the derivation of decisions. However, when certain Hanbalite jurists undertook religious reform in the eighth century after the Hegira [15th century AD], they imagined that they were breathing life into a stagnant Islamic society and that their ideas were ablaze with radical reform and upheaval. In this spirit, Ibn Qiyam al-Jawziyah wrote his book "Legal Means in Policy of Islamic Law" (Ibn al-Qiyam died in the year 751 after the hegira [around 1400 AD]). It is this spirit which dictated Ibn Hazm's well known rule: If an evil act leading to a prohibition is opposed by a good act and a preferable need, the prohibited thing will be permitted.

Thus the Islamic schools of thought were a true response to the derivation of provisions of Islamic law in diverse intellectual and social environments. These imams of the schools were not palace jurists in ivory towers; rather, they were working scholars, struggling to earn their living and express the nation's conscience in the face of the tyranny of rulers. The Abbasid al-Mansur asked Imam Malik to set out a book on Islamic jurisprudence in which he would avoid the rejection of Ibn 'Abbas and the misfortunes of Ibn 'Umar, and he did so. He set forth the Kitab al-Muwatta', and al-Mansur tried to convert people to it, but Malik rejected that, protesting that circumstances had changed. Imam Ahmad ibn Hanbal proved the tribulations of al-Ma'mun when he tried to convert the people to the scholastic school of thought of the Mu'tazilites. In condemning blind imitation [taqlid], Ahmad said, "It is short-sightedness on a person's part to be imitative in his religion." Imam al-Ghazali propounded a powerful argument against blind imitation [taqlid], formulating his famous expression on the need and importance of renewal, stating, in "al-Munqidh min al-Dalal": "No one aspires to return to blind imitation after he has left it, since it is a condition of the imitation that he not know that he is an imitator. When he realizes that he is, he will break the bottle of his imitation. He is a people (a party) who cannot be rectified (reformed) and a dishevelment (division) which cannot be set aright by fabrication or construction, unless it is dissolved in fire and another, new form is resumed for it."

Mahdist thought, whether in the diluted form which is founded on the prophetic tradition "God seeks someone for this nation, at the beginning of every century of time, who will renew the nation's religion," or the traditions of the awaited Mahdi who will fill the land with justice, has played a revolutionary role in besieging and eliminating decadent Islamic

entities and societies, and establishing youthful new Islamic eras. Ibn Khaldun realized this revolutionary role of Mahdist thought and opposed it in the name of the stability which the Islamic governments of his era desired.

#### The Four Factors of Inflexibility

Thus we find that our history is replete with diverse responses to the issues of renovation and social change. Some of these responses are reformist, some are revolutionary and some are inspirational. They all played a part in forming Islamic history, then gradually disappeared until imitation and inflexibility took their place. This inflexibility was caused by four factors:

First, intellectual inflexibility, which restricted independent judgment to the imams of the four creeds and categorized the Islamic jurists in seven classes, beginning with the imams of individual judgment, descending grade by grade, and ending with the class of traditionalists [imitators], which is the class which dominated since the 5th century after the Hegira [12th century AD].

Second, the disappearance of the revolutionary spirit in the ruling system in the Islamic world, and the nation's fall into the clutches of political tyranny.

Third, the disappearance of social justice from economic practices and the establishment of a division between work and ownership of property, causing economic life to be founded on exploitation and selfishness.

Fourth, the introversion of social life into the negativism of Sufic orders, which gave people certain spiritual diversion, turning them away from the positive attitude of undertaking political and social reform.

Some of these factors reinforced others, causing Islamic societies to acquire the characteristics of decadence and deterioration which Max Weber claimed were the fault of Islam itself.

The state of the entire third world, of which the Islamic world is a part, is lamentable, and the figures and data bearing on this state warn of imminent evil.

Economically, the state of agricultural production, the state of mining and industry, the unequal share of world trade, the constant decline in the terms of trade, and the escalating indebtedness are distressing facts.

Socially, the state of population density, education, unemployment, urban migration and the drain of competent people are tormenting signs.

Surrounding all this is a diversified intellectual environment: some people are tied to a dead past while others are attracted to foreign principles--birds outside their own flocks.

The state of education in our countries confirms this ugly picture. Either graduates possess diplomas from traditional educational institutions whose curricula have been deficient for the past thousand years in developing human thought, or they possess diplomas from civil institutions established by the colonists, and still attached to the spirits of the colonialists, whose future curricula are overseas. Some reforms have recently been introduced to modernize educational curricula in some traditional educational institutions and many students and graduates of civil institutes have tried to make up for the deficiency in their cultural background by rallying around the heritage and nourishing themselves from Islamic Arab culture. This reform and rectification has not reached the point where it has satisfied the need for a genuine yet modern culture. The educational deficiency is reflected in the small number of books published by graduates and the paucity of the thought they contribute. Even the subjects of the theses they present to receive higher degrees in the form of MAs or PhDs usually do not address the issues of the national environment but are dominated by concerns which are strongly tied to the "mother" foreign country and are feebly linked to the real homeland, the land of their forebears. This is the phenomenon which is known as the domestic brain drain.

All these reasons together explain the constant expansion of differences between the northern hemisphere and the backward southern hemisphere.

For a period of time, it seemed as if we could except the oil-producing states from this dark destiny. In fact, it was predicted that these oil countries would predominate over the industrial ones. These conceptions were exaggerated; the national income of Britain alone is three times that of all the Arab countries, while the population of these Arab countries is twice that of Britain!

The oil countries supplied the industrial countries with cheap fuel during the period between the two wars and the reconstruction period after World War Two. Low-priced fuel played a greater role in European and Japanese reconstruction than the American Marshall Plan. However, in 1973 the price of oil started to rise in a manner which increased the oil exporting states' financial reserves several times over. In spite of this increase, the reserves constantly declined as a result of the deterioration in the value of hard currency (dollar and sterling), the rise in inflation rates and plans for bringing money back to the industrial country. For example, in the period between 1967 and 1973, the value of the dollar dropped 23 percent and the value of sterling dropped 42 percent.

The abundance of cash liquidity in the coffers of the oil states, their chronic economic backwardness, the absence of a local technology in those states, the deceitful marketing practices in the use of which some international firms exporting manufactured goods were skilled, and the reliance by modern economic activity in these states on foreign investors in many cases all combined to make the oil states choose their development projects from categories which use intensive capital. Also, arms merchants

exploited this abundance and these countries' need to establish modern means of defense, and sold the countries tremendous amounts of arms to meet their defense needs. Indeed, these amounts of arms sometimes greatly exceeded the countries' defense requirements. In the period 1972-1976, projects for American arms to Iran alone came to \$10.4 billion. In fact, what Iran spent on arms in 1976 totalled what the People's Republic of China spent on defense in the same year, although China's population is more than 10 times that of Iran! Also, the proliferation of imports of complex capital commodities for development purposes, of imports of high-quality industrial products for consumer purposes, and of imports of advanced military equipment, and the increasing reliance on foreign experts are characteristics which repeat themselves in the economic activity of oil countries, although these states differ in the degree to which these characteristics are apparent. If the current pattern of trade and economic relations between oil exporters and advanced industrial countries continues it will lead to an economic integration between them (between oil-states and industrial-states) which will be subjected to the planning and guidance of the industrial states.

#### A Radical Review Is Needed

Thus the whole third world, for different reasons, is in need of a radical review of its economic conditions and its relations with the industrial countries in a manner which will enable it to achieve an economic development which will take into consideration the interests of its people in the short and long terms and will establish just relations between the backward countries and the industrial world in the short and long terms.

Numerous currents compete with one another to achieve this objective; the most important of these are three--

Liberal capitalism: Zaki Najib Mahmud, in his book "Toward a Scientific Philosophy," said, "We must throw our old heritage into the wastebasket." Taha Husayn, in his book "The Future of Education in Egypt," said: "Europe is the modern age and we must accept Europe, with its good and bad, in order to catch up to the age we are in." Turkey has made affiliation with Europe a state religion. Iran did the same in the Pahlavi era (to a lesser degree). This was the position of two important thinkers and two important countries concerning the civilization of Western Europe. However, the two men and the two countries subsequently reviewed their positions.

Capitalist development will not succeed in our countries for numerous reasons, of which we might mention:

A. The theoretical concepts which capitalist economic theory adopts do not apply to backward countries. An example is the theory of the exchange of mutual benefits, which requires that the parties which have trade dealings with one another be able to invest their various resources, so that it will be in the interests of each party to sell those products whose production circumstances are better under its own aegis and to buy other

products from the other parties where the circumstances of producing those products are better, each party deriving a real benefit from this transaction. This is true, but, when one of the parties is backward, and its resources are not invested, the desired benefits are not realized. This obstacle also destroys the theory of free trade. Free trade between parties which are equal or similar in economic development produces benefits for all, but free trade between a backward and an advanced party always produces benefits for the advanced party and results in the suppression of development opportunities in the more backward countries. To all this, one should add that economics does not operate in a vacuum removed from other factors. It is well known that industrial countries exercise political and military hegemony in the world today, and this causes them to deal with backward countries on financially and commercially unequal conditions, enabling them to subject international financial, monetary, commercial and economic institutions to their influence.

B. When capitalist development occurred in Britain, then in the rest of the Western world, circumstances permitted people to turn from social concerns to economic activity. Today, however, this is out of the question, since it is necessary that a known minimum of workers' wages and rights be provided and that a known minimum of health and educational services and social insurance be provided. These conditions place a limit on individual freedom in the field of economic activity.

C. The characteristics of asceticism and initiative with which the capitalist classes in Europe and Japan were marked during the period of development and capital accumulation do not apply to domestic capitalists in the backward countries today. Domestic capitalists in backward countries today are mostly oriented toward investments which yield quick and easy profits, generally tend to send their money abroad and usually pursue a decadent social life engulfed in consumer extravagances.

D. The international capitalist center is dominated by massive international firms which are powerful companies able to exert freedom of economic activity to subjugate the economic systems in backward countries.

Although many political circles in developing countries are devoted to liberal freedoms, the political aspect of the capitalist system, that is, the parliamentary system, has not achieved great success in developing countries--rather, their backwardness itself has been one of the causes of the waste of the parliamentary experiment. This waste has not prevented the Western countries--homeland of liberal freedoms--from dealing with countries ruled by military and civilian dictators as long as they saw that dealing with these countries served their commercial and strategic interests! The West, the cradle of the liberal system, has become the fervent defender of tyrannical oppressive regimes, thus doing extreme damage to its position of principle.



In the Amnesty International organization's report for 1974-75, the following statement appeared: "Iran was the country most destructive of human rights in the world."

In President Carter's speech in his visit to Tehran in December 1977, there appeared the following statement: "My views and those of the Shah on human rights are in total agreement. The Shah is the world leader to whom I feel the most sincere gratitude and affection."

With statements like this, and the acts which back them up, the West is ruining its position in the third world.

### The Communist Way

Marxism claims to be the paragon of an inevitable historic movement which describes the condition of societies and considers that factors of production and production relationships--that is, the economic situation--are progressing in a specific direction and will inevitably lead to a specific political and social system.

However, Leninism did not wait for the maturation of these inevitable matters; he made the party into an iron political tool using the circumstances of the collapse which befell the Russian government during World War One in order to take power. From a position of power, he established a new economic situation, through which he achieved Soviet economic development. Lenin's individual theoretical and practical rulings stamped Marxism with the character of the Russian social and historic environment and international circumstances.

This bending of historic, national and environmental circumstances also occurred in Marxism-Leninism at the hands of Tito, who gave it a Yugoslav character, and Mao, who gave it a Chinese character. All Communist movements which have relied on their intrinsic powers have stamped Communism with a national or historic character, but non-independent Communist movements have generally mirrored Soviet concepts, stripping them of their effectiveness. This negative effect has befallen the most important Communist party in the Islamic world, the Iranian Tudeh Party.

The Communist theory of religion is influenced by the views of Marx, and these views are derived from the opinion prevailing in revolutionary circles in Western Europe on the role of the church in European social history. They are also influenced by the views of Lenin and his generation on the role the Russian church played in supporting the Czarist system. However valid these views might have been in describing the circumstances surrounding them, they have been totally alien in analyzing the role of Islam in Islamic countries. This illusion has made the position of Communist thinking on Islam an erroneous one. Communist thinking has fallen prey to another error, which is that of ignoring the nationalist element and concentrating on the class role in societies where classes have not fully

crystallized. The position on religion and nationalism, and adherence to internationalism and class theory, are the reasons why Communism has not been stressed in Islamic countries.

The leaders who took power in the name of Communism or the alliance with Communism in developing countries found themselves revolving in the Soviet orbit and unable to prepare or apply programs relevant to their social, national and historic circumstances. Therefore these regimes were compelled to review their entire position and continue in a hot or cold civil war which sundered the social regime without succeeding in creating an alternative.

The national socialist way: other ways have been put forward which are not capitalist or communist, of which I will mention Ba'thism and Nasirism. Both of these have realized the infeasibility of following the first two ways, both of them have realized the need for economic development and social transformation in order to attain sufficiency and justice, both have realized the effectiveness of nationalism, both have realized the special relationship which exists between Arabhood and Islam, and both have also realized the importance of establishing a just new international system.

However, I direct three reproaches to the Ba'thist and Nasirite movements:

- A. They mention the role and importance of Islam and leave this aspect of their thinking frozen, so that it has not played a real role in their program.
- B. They have not been able to establish a popular democratic base for the regime which would link it to mass sacrifice, participation and liberation from dominance by agencies.
- C. They have been more influenced than they should have by the seductions of the international game.

The role of Islam: Islam is a unique position. Muhammad, peace and blessings be upon him, lived in the period of written history, and the Koran was written down during the prophet's lifetime in the context of the city state. Islam is concerned with the hereafter and the material world. It addresses spiritual concerns without ignoring the construction of the world: "Work for your world as if you were to live forever and for your hereafter as if you were to die tomorrow." The great nationalities of the Islamic nation are the Arab, the Turkish and the Iranian nationalities, and these have played the most important and glorious roles of their history in the vast context of Islam. All movements of national resurgence and social reform in Islamic countries may be attributed directly or distantly to Islamic proselytizers such as Muhammad Ahmad (Sudanese), Muhammad 'Abd-al-Wahhab (Saudi), Jamal-al-Din (Afghan), Muhammad 'Abduh (Egyptian), Osman Dan Fodio (Nigerian), 'Umar al-Mukhtar (Libyan), 'Abd-al-Qader (Algerian), and so forth. Christianity, the Greco-Roman tradition, the

Latin language and Roman law jointly played an important role in forming Europe, but Islam by itself played all these roles in forming the societies of the Islamic community. Seeking to develop an Islamic society while ignoring Islam is like emptying the society of its psychological, cultural and social content. Since the desired development is directed to the whole society, not to a limited elite, the popular bases in Islamic countries will not respond to programs or slogans which are hostile to or ignore Islam.

Experience has proved that no one relinquishes his identity. Even if people are enthusiastic about progress and about catching up with the times, they are anxious that this occur in a context which does not negate their identity. Europe and America, by slavery and colonialism, managed to empty great societies of Africans of their identity, and they answered with the movements of Negritude: Negroism, Africanism and the African personality are among the ideas which emphasize African identity. Here dark societies in Europe and America are searching for their cultural roots eagerly and impatiently, with an enthusiasm which the writer Alex Haley describes in his book "Roots."

Alien thought has been hedged about with elements which weaken its brilliance. As far as Communism goes, the contradiction between the claim to be a paragon and performance has been laid bare; indeed, it has become obvious that the West, on which Communism has heaped every obloquy, continues to be superior to the socialist countries in exploring the horizons of new technology. The technological field is the field of superiority which was promised Communist society! The Soviet nuclear scholar Sakharov has said, "It is no coincidence that all modern scientific and technological discoveries--quantum mechanics, new elements, uranium fission, antibodies, groups of effective new medicines, the transistor, the computer, the development of improved seeds for agriculture, the refinement of techniques which created the green revolution, the discovery of new methods in the fields of agriculture and construction--it is no coincidence that all these inventions and discoveries were made outside our country."

However, not even in the west is this supremacy grounds for confidence in the future, nor is it a source of pride for those who possess it. This is because a scientific and technological progress which is not accompanied by guiding values threatens to lead to extremely dangerous conditions, indeed to destruction of the planet through pollution and disruption of the natural balance, in the event of peace, or through its nuclear destruction in war.

The West has become perplexed in the face of the problems confronting the post-industrial society it is living in. A number of writers have undertaken to propound ideas through which the West can face the new situation; the most important books in this field are:



The book "The End of Ideology," by Daniel Bell.

The book "Future Shock," by Alvin Toffler.

The book "The Greening of America," by Charles Reich.

These books, and others like them, have met with great circulation in Europe and America. They deal with a perplexing and desperate idea: a perplexity and despair which are underlined by the popularity with which specific philosophies, such as existentialism, logical positivism and linguistic analysis--philosophies of perplexity and renunciation--are met in the West. The expression which holds true in describing the philosophic idea prevalent now in the West was stated by Karl Popper when he said, "Except for some Marxists, it seems to me that philosophers have divorced themselves from any contact with reality."

This all indicates that the West is on the verge of reaching the stage of lassitude before the sunset which Ibn Khaldun called the stage of opulence.

The modern Moslem may turn away from ideas coming from the West or the East, but he finds himself also turning away from Islam because of the obstacles Islam sets in the way of modern social transformation. Herewith I review these obstacles one by one:

First: Punishments. It is said that Islamic punishments are barbaric and are not consonant with the circumstances of the modern age. These punishments are the Islamic penalties. They are penalties which are established not by opinion or by analogy, but by stipulation alone. The confessor is not punished under these penalties as a result of his confession--rather, there has to be a clearly defined testimony. If the conditions for this punishment are not wholly present and there is the least ambiguity in the matter, the Islamic punishment is dropped. Take as an example of this:

A. The punishment for theft. Theft, in Islamic law, is taking the property of others, secretly, without compulsion, from a sanctuary. If a thief steals money in which he has a kind of share, the issue of his having taken the money of others is dropped and he is spared Islamic punishment. Therefore there is no cutting off [of hands] for the following thefts: anyone stealing from the treasury, anyone stealing from a city, a landlord stealing from a tenant, anyone stealing what he has lent from the home of the borrower, anyone stealing his pledge from the house of a person holding the pledge as security, theft of relatives from one another, theft among consanguineous people, and so forth. No one stealing from what is not a sanctuary (that is, a cloistered place) will have [his hand] cut off.

An example of this is theft by servants, forcible seizure, pickpocketing, plunder and theft of deposits.

There is no cutting off [of hands] if a form of compulsion exists, as is the case in famine. There is no cutting off [of hands] if a certain amount of

sufficiency is not present, as is the case if workers' wages are unjust. It is related of the prophet, peace and blessing upon him, that he stated, "I do not cut off [hands] over food." There is no cutting off [of hands] for things which are originally the property of all, such as water, pasture, fire, hunting, and so forth, in the theft of instruments of pleasure, or in the theft of books.

B. Punishment for adultery. The Islamic punishment for adultery must be established by testimony by four upright persons who state that they observed the adulterer and adulteress in a state of actual copulation. It is not enough that they see the man and woman in a clad state, embracing or in seclusion. The Islamic punishment is not carried out just under the authority of the imam. It is related that in the days he was caliph, "Umar ibn al-Khattab saw a man and a woman in a lewd act. He gathered people together and said, "What would you say if the commander of the faithful saw a man and a woman in a lewd act?" 'Ali answered him, "Let him bring four witnesses (three others), or let him be whipped with the punishment of stoning and let his testimony be dropped if he states the names of those he saw, as would be the case with all other Moslems." Meeting the conditions for Islamic punishment for adultery is almost out of the question.

The conditions exist only in a society which is totally enamored of and brags about its obscene acts. The codifier of Islamic law does not encourage confession of such acts. Ma'iz ibn Malik went on to the prophet and said, "I have committed adultery." He stated that four times. He repeated his confession four times, and it was ordered that he be stoned. Anyone who admits to a theft or to adultery, and on whom the imam has ordered that Islamic punishment be levied, will be released if the confession is taken back before implementation (Abu Hanifah and Ibn Hanbal).

Al-Tarnawi quoted 'A'ishah who related that the prophet said, "Ward off Islamic punishments by ambiguities as much as you can; if there is a way out for a person, release him. It is better that the imam err by pardoning than that he err by punishing."

(There is an exhaustive study on Islamic punishments in the book "Punishments in Islam" by Ahmad Fathi Bahansi.)

Establishing the imposition of Islamic punishments is difficult and the conditions for applying them are difficult. The codifier of Islamic law stipulated them in order to stress the enormity of specific crimes--an enormity of which the devout person's conscience should be aware and the occurrence of which he is to avoid. Islamic penalties are a means of moral deterrence in a devout society and through them Moslem society preserves its health and vigor; their basic effectiveness is as a moral deterrent. Short of Islamic penalties, Moslem societies can adopt suitable punishments for crimes people commit by backing up moral deterrence through practical deterrence, that is, through fitting measures.

Second: Women's rights. People say that Islam destroys the status of women, who constitute half of society, and that society can have no resurgence if women are deprived.

In Islam, women are the females of mankind and the other half of men. This is the meaning of the prophet's statement (peace and blessings be upon him) "Women are the full sisters of men." In Islam, men and women constitute the family and live as two functioning members of a greater society. Women are linked to maternal duties to the family (carrying children, giving birth to children, giving milk and nursing), without being deprived of their social role (income earning and civil and political rights). Men are linked to society by paternal duties (income earning and protection), without being deprived of their family roles (affection, care and upbringing). The family is a social unit which needs coordination and planning, and the status of the man in the family, as its head, provides it with that. This system for forming and maintaining a family is a successful one. In all human experience, no better system has been found. What, however, of the statement that Islam considers the woman to be below man, indeed to be equal only to half of a man--if we consider the issue of testimony and inheritance--or only to one-quarter of a man if we consider the issue of marriage? As far as polygamy goes, marriage is not an Islamic rite and polygamy is not an Islamic duty. In Islam, marriage is an agreement to organize relations of kinship and coexistence in affection and mercy between two parties. Women's affairs in marriage activities are in their own hands. Women have been given the freedom to act with what they possess by the agreement of Islamic jurists and to act with what they have in an elementary form. Imam Abu Hanifah, stressing this, said "The Koran attributes marriage to women, since Almighty God said, 'One who divorces a woman may not have relations with her afterwards until she marries another husband.'" He said, "Do not prevent them from marrying their husbands."

Since the marriage contract stipulates that women may impose on husbands the condition that they not travel with them, that they not marry others besides themselves and that they have the right of matrimonial authority, the Hanbalites say, "These conditions are binding in courts of Islamic law, and if the circumstances of Islamic society evolve and it is no longer desired that polygamy be practiced, the entree to the necessary amendments exists in Islamic references themselves."

As far as women's testimony goes, the Koranic text says that testimony by two women on financial matters is equal to the testimony of one man. If one woman errs, the other one will remember. That is to say that probably one woman will forget what she has witnessed and the other one will remember. The fact that a man will forget things with which he is not familiar is relevant. Testimony by a woman is better than testimony by a man on things familiar to her, such as matters of pregnancy, nursing, giving birth and other maternal affairs. The reason for having two women give testimony on financial transactions is not related to the status of women but to the extent to which they engage in the matter which has been witnessed. Therefore,

in the book "Legal Means in Policy of Islamic Law," by Ibn Qiyam al-Jawziyah, the following stipulation appeared in response to a question Ishaq ibn Mansur asked of Ahmad. Ahmad said, "I will allow the testimony of one woman if she is reliable."

Regarding inheritance and moral obligations in Islam, the purpose of the system is to preserve the identity of the family. As long as it is difficult for women, because of such affairs of motherhood as childbearing, giving birth, breast-feeding and nursing, to earn a living, and as long as earning a living is a permanent matter for guaranteeing a livelihood, then looking after the family becomes a duty of the man, although this is not a reason to deprive women of their right to half the inheritance or their right to own, work and earn a wage; they are free to dispose of these financial rights which they possess.

Women have another right, which takes the form of social insurance: this is their right to the bride price, which they may keep personally for themselves. Men inherit twice as much as women, but nonetheless are obligated to spend on the family. Women inherit half what men inherit, but nonetheless have other financial rights. These are to earn what they want and to keep their bride price. They do not have the obligation of furnishing the marital home or of spending on it. When practice in Islamic countries with regards to maintaining women's economic and financial rights is not proper or clear, it is a deviation from the requirements of Islam and must be rectified.

In any event, people have the right to dispose of their property as long as they are alive, and of one-third of their legacy when they die. If they want to respond to social variables in distributing their wealth, that is possible within the scope of the abovementioned limits.

Third: *Economic obstacles.* It is said that prohibiting usury neutralizes investment incentives and paralyzes private sector activity.

In Islam, property ownership is not absolute in nature, enabling the owner to do what he wants with his property. Rather, property ownership is restricted by the consideration that the owner of the property has been appointed the successor to his possessions, and prohibition of usury is one of the restrictions on the owner.

Many economists, foremost among them the pioneer of modern capitalist economics, J. M. Keynes, consider that the interest rate is deleterious to the capitalist economy and recommend alternative means for providing incentives to investors. The Islamic system provides the requisite incentive by another means, which is the imposition of a tax on idle funds; this constitutes a powerful incentive for investment. If we look at the tithe from the economic standpoint, that is a tax on idle funds, that is, a kind of reverse interest rate which eliminates idle funds.

There are differences among Islamic jurists with regard to the interest rate. There are jurists who permit it (Mahmud Shaltut, 'Abd-al-Jalil 'Isa and 'Ali al-Khafif), jurists who prohibit it (Hasanaya Makhluuf) and jurists who state that it is a matter of ambiguity (al-Fahham). (See the opinions of Islamic jurists in the newspaper AL-AHRAM of 9 May 1975.)

I say that there is no harm in the interest rate as an accounting instrument, for example in dealings between two branches of a public organization or two branches of a private company. Nor is there harm in the interest rate if it is completely different from usury, which the ruling verse in [the Surah of] Al 'Imran prohibits: "O you who believe, devour not usury, doubled and redoubled (3: 130)." (For further details on opinions about the matter of usury and the interest rate, what is permissible and what is prohibited, and the basis of this in intellect and transmitted tradition, see my book "Economic Development and the Fundamental Debate of the Era.")

The prohibition of usury in Islam is a matter of pride for Islam, when compared with the two international economic systems of capitalism and communism. Perhaps a Moslem who doubts the conclusions we have reached will agree with us and obliterate these partial objections of his, but will then move on to another objection, of a general character, stating, "Traditional Islamic thinking has prevented a response to what is new, because it believes that God Almighty said 'We have not neglected anything in the book,' and this means that what the Koran has mentioned is all the knowledge that is required and that what is not mentioned in the Koran is one of two things--opposed to what is stated in the Koran, therefore void, or in agreement with what is stated in the Koran, that is, superfluous, not fattening or of use against hunger." This is not how our forebears understood the Koran--otherwise, they would have found no motive for individual judgment, analogy, consensus, improvement, amplification or reform.

I say that the correct interpretation of this verse is that Almighty God mentioned in the Koran the three means for human understanding, allowed them and ordered that they be used in the quest for increased understanding, towards comprehension of all things. The means for human understanding are through spirit, through intellect and through experience.

Understanding through spirit is the understanding which is brought through revelation, and opens the gates to broad guidance and orientation. God almighty said, "Have faith in God and God will cause you to know." He said, "Have faith in God and believe in his prophet so that he may bestow two guarantees of his mercy upon you and create for you a light by which you may proceed." The prophet, on whom be God's prayers and peace, said, "Have faith in the intuitive understanding of the believer, who is looking at God's light."

Understanding through intellect: in more than 50 verses, the Koran urges us to think, to make arrangements, to deduce and to use our intellects.



The Koranic text's confidence in the intellect reaches the point where apostasy is almost considered a kind of intellectual sickness. The verses of the Koran still end with a verse in which God Almighty says, "Thus we confer the verses on a people who think."

In this regard, Imam al-Shatibi, in "Al-Muwafaqat," said "Legal proof does not negate the intellect, because intellect is the object of a duty. Therefore the duty is removed when intellect is absent (in the instance of childhood or madness, for instance); to bestow a duty which negates the intellect on a thinking person is like bestowing a duty on a person who is unthinking - indeed it is more fruitless, burdensome and calamitous."

#### Understanding through experience:

Almighty God said, "Say, proceed through the earth and see how creation began." He said, "We will cause them to see our verses in the horizons and in themselves, so that it may become apparent to them that it is the truth." In the biography of the prophet /it is stated/ that the prophet of God ordered a people not to drive a pin into a palm tree. They refrained from doing so, the fruit of the tree went bad, and when he asked them about that they told him, "you prohibited us and we refrained." So he told them, "Go back and drive a pin into it; you are more knowledgeable about the affairs of your world (which naturally is understanding through experience)."

Thus the Koran refers to the three means of understanding, allows them, urges us to use them, and helps us through inspiration with those things at which we do not excel. This open-minded understanding of the Koran is what the companions of the prophet and the scholars of the past recognized. In his book "al-Turuq al-Hukmiyah," Ibn Qiyam related that Ibn 'Aqil said, regarding the arts, "Politics is an act through which people become closer to virtue and farther from corruption; otherwise the prophet would not have described it and would not have delivered a revelation concerning it." He said, "Glorious God has sent down his prophets among man and has revealed his books so that people may perform what is just, and this is the justice through which heaven and earth were established. The kingdoms of justice made their appearance, justice expressed itself through every means, and God's law and religion came into being."

The doubting person will continue his questioning by saying, "Don't the facts of modern science contradict Islam?" A group of scholars has addressed itself to study Islam's position on modern science; the most recent of these was the French scholar Maurice Baqaille who published a book titled "The New Testament, the Koran and Natural Sciences." In the introduction to the book, the writer said that he had counted all the stipulations mentioned in the Koran which had a scientific content in order to study them, then said, "I counted them, set them down, and studied them, and in the end I must record my frank objection: in the Koran there is not one stipulation against which one can protest from the standpoint of modern science."

Another objection bears on Islam's position regarding religious freedoms. I state that Islam is not only permissive toward the other divinely

revealed religions, it recognizes them and organizes relations with them. It is a recognition in which Imam Abu Hanifah included the Sabians, stating "They do not worship the stars but hold them to be sacred the way Moslems hold the Ka'bah sacred." In practical matters, this permissiveness has encompassed all religions, including the adherents of Mazdaism. A holy tradition has been recounted in this regard, whose text is "Codify with them the laws of the people of the revealed religions, except for those who sleep with their women and eat their victims" (see the book "al-Shari'at al-Islamiyah" by Muhammad Husayn al-Dhahabi). The truth is that Islam's position regarding religious freedoms is governed by Almighty God's statement "There is no compulsion in religion." People ask, how can the resurgence of Islam be made compatible with the modern system of international coexistence?

Imam Ibn Taymiyah said, "In Islam, fighting takes place against those who fight us." If we want to show God's religion through the text of the Koran, "Fight on behalf of God against those who fight against you, and do not commit aggression; God does not like aggressors," I state that the verse which is referred to in stating these subjects is Almighty God's statement "God does not prohibit you from reverentially and fairly dealing with those who have not fought with you over religion and have not expelled you from your homes." The ambiguity of the aggression of Islam, and its spread by the sword, is an ambiguity which many thinkers have addressed and expressed; of these I might mention the British orientalist Professor Arnold and his famous book "The Call to Islam." In this book he stated facts of history which dispel this ambiguity.

The effectiveness of the spiritual guidance of Islam, Islam's firmness in the minds and hearts of Moslems, the clarity and flexibility of its social teachings, and the failure of alien nations and creeds are factors which explain the strength of Islam and its perseverance in the face of storms. We have studied among some Moslems and many Westerners, over and over again, a grave view whose import is that the role of Islam has disappeared and that its relevance has vanished. In this regard Turkey and Iran have been cited as examples of Islamic societies which have turned their backs on Islam and have turned to worship Europe or America. Mitchell wrote a book in the late 1960's about the Egyptian Moslem Brotherhood movement and concluded his study by saying, "In the end, the political role of Islam in the Arab area has disappeared." But the amazing thing is that Islam is alive and active in Turkey, in Egypt Islamic students dominate nine of the country's 12 universities, and here are liberation movements in the heart of the Islamic world which adhere to their Islamic identity. Here regimes which have taken power under the aegis of Communist or quasi-Communist slogans are reviewing their positions and declaring a turn toward Islam (as happened in the Sudan), and here Arab nationalism has reviewed its intellectual program in a manner which has given prominence to the importance of Islamic sacrifice (as happened in Libya). Iran disproved all the computers and its brilliant agencies fell apart! Iran has become a lesson to those who are deluded by strength; maybe they will be aware of it in their dealings with developing countries. Mosaddegh demanded that ownership of

the oil industry be divided equally between Iran and the oil companies, as was the situation in Venezuela, but the companies, and those who were behind them, refused this; he decreed the nationalization of the companies, they decreed a boycott of Iranian oil, and American intelligence organized a coup which swept Mosaddegh away and returned the Shah after he had escaped from the country.

In recognition of this favor, the Shah sided with America and placed his policies at the service of its conceptions and interests, disdaining Islamic and national feelings and social grievances and mobilizing public opinion against himself in a manner which erupted in the glorious Muharram revolution which proved to the Islamic world--indeed to the whole East, indeed to torturers everywhere--that if people want a free, dignified life and organize their ranks, the greatest agencies of oppression and the most voracious deterrence will not stand in their way. Mohammad Reza Pahlavi's regime was protected by armed forces supplied by the most lethal equipment, it was defended by a propaganda program full of brilliant slogans, it was backed by strong allies and it established its foreign relations on friendship or partisanship with all the major countries.

The Iranian people swept away this sheer oppression and set forth Islam, the program of revolution and renovation, not the program of conservatives and opportunists. It is in the power of Islamic thought to respond to the challenge of modernizing society and developing the economy on a just collective basis, building political regimes on popular democratic foundations and establishing international relations on a foundation of brotherhood and justice maintained by a more just, preferable international system.

Those Islamic countries that think that Islam constitutes a prop for their regimes which are backward and which have been less than progressive, and those Islamic countries in which dictators have taken over the reins of government, seeking legitimacy for themselves by using Islamic facades--all of these countries and dictators will have their hopes dashed.

The brilliant nature of Islam and the portentous circumstances of the age require that the Islamic awakening be accompanied by a strong, comprehensive response to the issues of the age and justice; otherwise the call to Islam will be a means for defending paralyzed conditions and repressive regimes, and this will turn people away from Islam and push them voluntarily or by force into the embrace of alien thinking.

Some people in the West imagine that the Islamic awakening is by nature hostile to the Soviets and by nature friendly to the West. This also is an illusion without foundation. International relations which the Moslems are establishing in the era of their awakening are relationships of friendship with countries which believe in eliminating the current international system, in removing the oppressive organizations and practices of that system and in establishing an alternate world system which will keep abreast of the development and resurgence of backward countries and support fraternity among people.



Islamic renewal and individual thought may take the form of a consensus moving in the face of challenges within the Islamic nation. It could take the form of a response by the foundation of the masses to the call of a leader or leaders moving by God's light and raising the banners of guidance. Both forms could be intermixed. Shaykh Wadbaqvi, a righteous man from the Sudan, asked Imam al-Mahdi, "Are you God's representative on earth?" The imam told him, "Anyone graced with the necklace of religion, to whom the hearts of Moslems are inclined, is one."

Some Western writers who live in the lap of luxury are announcing the twilight of ideologies, which will not return. This is an illusion which is dictated to these writers by the state of luxury. There is no waning of ideology nor of ideology's historic role in change. It is ideology which makes the person who believes in it rise above his abilities and affiliate himself, through a common belief, with other people in an effective way through which the society believing in a creed or ideology can mobilize its powers to build a better morrow. Not all creeds and beliefs are right; some are vain illusions. The true creed is the one which links man to the divine concern which will guide history toward its higher goals, a concern which is not brought down from an ivory tower but interacts with human will in a manner which is described by God Almighty's statement "God will not change the lot of a people until they change what is in their own selves."

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## INTER-ARAB AFFAIRS

### BRIEFS

IRAN DENIES IRAQ OVERFLIGHTS--Major General Azghar Imaniyan, commander of the Iranian Air Force denied the incursion of four Iraqi planes into Iranian air space. Major General Imaniyan said in an announcement which the newspaper AYANDEGAN (issued in Teheran) published yesterday that the very sensitive radar equipment located in the Mamadan region had not recorded any overflight of planes in Iranian territories. He added that until 2130 hours of the day before yesterday he had not been informed of any such attack. [Excerpt] [Baghdad AL-JUMHURIYAH in Arabic 7 Jun 79 p 1]

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## EGYPT'S ISOLATION FROM ARAB WORLD DISCUSSED

Paris AL-MUSTAQBAL in Arabic 19 May 79 pp 41-49

/Analytical article prepared by AL-MUSTAQBAL's Center for Study and Research:  
"Egypt Without the Arabs...and the Arabs Without Egypt?"

/Text/ The first stage of the plan drawn up to establish the Egyptian-Israeli peace settlement ended with the signing of the Egyptian-Israeli Treaty. It had been difficult to imagine the birth of such a peace settlement as this one. But the thing which is now more important than its birth is how to assure it means by which to live. The principal participants undoubtedly know that many dangers threaten their "newly-born child" and that they will have to hasten to take the pressures off, to eliminate the obstacles in its path, and to lead it out of the blockade imposed upon it by the Arabs and the Moslems. And this is where the second stage in the life of the Egyptian-Israeli alliance begins.

A distinguished Egyptian intellectual bitterly raised two important questions concerning the present Egyptian position. He said:

"1. President Sadat has the right to negotiate, but the thing I do not understand or accept is--why this insistence on humiliating the Egyptian people!" When asked to clarify this, he said, "Maybe a person can excuse President Sadat's negotiating with Menahem Begin, but there is no excuse for him or anyone else to call the Egyptian people out to cheer and applaud during Menahem Begin's parade through the streets of Cairo. Maintaining the dignity of the Egyptian people is more important than demonstrating the Egyptian president's popularity!"

"2. Egypt has been the pivotal point of the Arab world for a long time. And the thing that I so far have been unable to picture is--what would be the shape of the Arab world without Egypt? And what would be the role of Egypt without the Arab world? For this reason the issue of Egypt's isolation appears to me to be more important than the issue of peace with Israel."

Yes, "the issue of Egypt's isolation is almost more important than peace with Israel..." But in spite of that President Sadat goes right on burning the bridges between Egypt and the Arab world, and this is precisely the significance

of the speech which he gave during the Workers' Holiday in Safaga on the occasion of May 1st, so this speech was considered to be a radical change in Egyptian policy. Perhaps it can best be characterized as the "Separation Speech." In it President Sadat announced the severance of family relations between Egypt and the Arab world. This serious change in the Arab situation, along with its accompanying agitation and propaganda methods, is having its negative and destructive effects on the sum total of higher Arab interests which should remain, or ought to have remained, aloof from open political disagreements. And although each Arab state has its opinion concerning the Egyptian president's initiatives, beginning with his visit to Jerusalem and ending with the signing of the Egyptian-Israeli Treaty, these opinions--although they differ in their analysis of the causes, motives, and methods of the confrontation--do agree, in the final analysis, on a "minimum" of necessary deterrent to the Egyptian initiatives. On his part, President Sadat holds fast to these initiatives of his, defending their "soundness" and accusing the Arab states, on the whole and in detail, of opposing him without offering any alternative to his initiative, and of not being convinced of what they are doing because, in his opinion, their actions are motivated by the two factors of incitement and intimidation. We believe that treating this issue requires an informed approach, proceeding on the following bases:

1. Bringing out into the open the dispute between Sadat and the Arab world is a matter which is necessary since it shows a particular political position which, in the final analysis, is the position of Egypt. This is because it is not possible to overcome the dispute unless its essence and reality are revealed and brought out.
2. This dispute is--and should be--based on political preferences and ideas, and is not a dispute concerning, or between, persons. Changing the political postures into a battle between personalities or leaders is the easiest way to render the struggle void of its real essence. Perhaps the worst sickness in Arab politics is that of converting every issue into an issue of a leader and groups of leaders, as if it were an extension of the idea of tribal leadership.
3. The fate of the Arabs (political, economic, cultural, and the fate of their civilization) is now facing a critical test. So let us at least strive to deal with this matter with the necessary seriousness and on the necessary level, going beyond the mastery required for a "surgical operation" to the composure required for doing an "autopsy."
4. If we are really realistic we will say that communication in the Arab world (Egypt on the one hand and the other countries on the other hand) is very close to being like a "dialogue between deaf mutes"! At the present time the facts are not being presented in true form to the citizens of the Arab world in order to give them an opportunity to judge them for themselves. And it is regrettable that the Arab people today do not share (nor did they previously share) in the making of decisions which determine their destiny and their future. All the decisions, including those which are organized into specially-tuned, superficial, popular referendums, and decisions which are made in their behalf and not by them. There is no merit in their acceptance

of them, because they did not understand them and they do not have the power to reject them because they are being oppressed and do not dare to. For this reason we will deal with the issue in two of its points: 1) an analysis and criticism of the speech of President Sadat in its broad outlines as best representing the thesis which President Sadat has offered in justification of Egypt's "isolation"! and 2) an attempt to review the Arab situation in light of the latest changes, and the possibility of the new Egyptian-Israeli alliance proceeding from the stage of an agreement to the stage of an attack!

#### Sadat's Speech and America's Reputation!

President Sadat's speech can be divided into three basic parts, which concern: 1) the Egyptian domestic situation, 2) criticism of Arab policy toward Egypt, and 3) determining Egypt's definitive policy in light of the Arab (political and economic) boycott of Egypt.

Concerning Egypt's domestic situation, the Egyptian president refers to the fact that, since the 1978 May Day celebrations, three important events have occurred. The first event was the May 1978 referendum and its results regarding political forces in Egypt. The second event was the establishment of the National Democratic Party. The third event was the September 1978 Camp David agreements and their resulting in the signing of the Egyptian-Israeli Treaty

The Egyptian president considers the May 1978 referendum to be the dividing line in Egyptian political life. It was what "eliminated the party corruption" which Egypt knew, especially before the Revolution of July 1952, and this referendum came as a type of clear and "decisive" screening operation which passed what appears to be a death sentence on four factions, robbing them of their right to exercise political activity. They are: 1) the pashas and feudalists, 2) the "atheistic communists," calling for the dictatorship of the proletariat, and "the people have spit them out," 3) power centers which arose after the July 23 Revolution, and 4) the opportunists--and commenting on this we say: Sadat uses, as a basis, a "particular" concept of democracy in order to throw "stones" at his political opponents. Adherence to the principle of "social Peace" and "the Egyptian family" is merely an interpretation which is respected but not decided upon. Democracy has no meaning if it is subject to factors which, in advance and absolutely, have been accepted as indisputable.

It is difficult to be convinced of the fact that the total number of individuals in these four factions does not go beyond 5,000 citizens (the number of votes which rejected the Egyptian-Israeli Treaty in the latest referendum!). The principle of isolating political forces from the arena of political activity contradicts a statement made by President Sadat himself in the October 1974 Paper when he said: "All of us must mobilize all the capacities of our national forces, no matter what might be the sources of their thought or their social origin, in order to declare war on ignorance and to enable the country to carry out a great stride on the road toward progress."

The justification for the establishment of the "National Democratic Party" is to stand up to these four factions. The establishment of a party to represent the Egyptian family was necessary, although the idea of the party is not acceptable to the president, and this is due to its association, in the history of Egypt, with rottenness and corruption before and after the July Revolution. The thing that makes him happiest is to "be the head of the Egyptian family" and not the head of a political party with its particular, factional role. Four remarks should be made about this point.

The Egyptian president is attributing to the four factions a great size and influence which contradicts what he said about them previously.

Secondly, he has in mind to occupy a mid-way position between the extremism of the Islamic right and the extremism of the Marxist left, knowing that whoever criticizes these two trends will inevitably not criticize the middle trend!

The justification for establishing a political party on the basis of being "against something," and not on the basis of undertaking to "do something," is in itself a justification which weakens the legitimacy of the political party and lessens its ability to be a response to a social need which has positive horizons and dimensions. This type of party is brought to being by the will of the ruler and becomes weak or dies when his power had ended. Perhaps this is what makes President Sadat play the Egyptian theme in order to awaken Egyptian nationalism and arouse Egyptian vigor: "Our honor is the honor of Egypt, and Egypt is our today, our tomorrow, and our destiny."

An objective look at the present reality of Egypt confirms the fact that President Sadat is polarizing, around himself, a clear Egyptian majority, provided that peace will bring them prosperity. The bet on prosperity is the card that the Egyptian regime is holding now. If this bet turns out to be a bad one, then there will arise waves of right-wing and left-wing extremism which will put the regime itself in a critical situation. This is the reason for this frantic race with time and existence--to make every Egyptian a property owner, to get the 1982 petroleum (a million barrels a day), and to get the Suez revenue (a billion dollars a year), not to mention the housing and food supply projects.

The third event is the Camp David agreements, which took place due to the initiative of President Carter. And he praises the American President both for this initiative as well as for his second initiative which took him to both Cairo and Jerusalem, putting himself on the line as a politician and "risking his political future." For if Carter had failed in his mission, "it would have inevitably been the end of him and of America as the largest power in the world, it would have been the end of him and of his country, that is of their reputation..." This means and reveals: 1) that the presence of the American President in Camp David, Cairo, and Jerusalem was a factor which exerted pressure on the course of the dispute...but in different proportions! 2) that saving the reputation of Carter and America (as the



greatest and strongest power) began to eclipse, perhaps we should say have priority over, saving the reputation of the Arabs and the Moslems and their right to Jerusalem, for example! 3) that while Menahem Begin remained inflexible and unyielding in his attitude, based on the Torah and the Talmud, the Egyptian president "could only" bear in mind the difficult circumstance because he is a graduate of the school of "shame."

#### Criticism of Arab Policy Toward Egypt

In the second part of his speech President Sadat deals with criticism of Arab policy toward Egypt, beginning with Camp David and ending with Egypt's alienation from the Arabs. And in this area four points are being made.

First is the criticism of the Arab method of dealing with Israel: "One sits a thousand miles away and demands the return of his land instead of getting together with the one who has his case. If no one is going to seek his land, then no one will get his land back. Either we get the West Bank, Jerusalem, Gaza and the Golan Heights, or we don't talk with Israel"! This "pleased the hawks in Israel" and made "the civilized world laugh at us"!!

In criticism of this criticism, one could say: President Sadat simplifies matters in such a way that he gives the impression that he is trying to erase the reality and essence of the Arab-Israeli conflict. Transforming this conflict into a mere dispute is a means of fleeing from the truth or taking sides against it. The Arab-Israeli conflict is not merely a difference of opinions or attitudes. It is a conflict in terms of existence and civilization. Israel does not "have" our case. First of all, we are the ones who have our case, and secondly our case is "against" Israel. Israel is not and cannot be the authority to decide our case. It is the actual opponent in our case, so if Israel "had" our case, then our case would no longer exist.

President Sadat, when he talks about the subject of negotiations and getting together with Israel instead of being "a thousand miles away from her," is forgetting something basic in the negotiation process, which is the "balance of power." The process is not merely that of getting together with Israel. What are the practical guarantees of success in this type of negotiating, since there are no verbal guarantees even though America might hold 99 percent of the cards for finding the solution, as President Sadat frequently says? All negotiations which have taken place between countries fighting each other and engaged in a conflict have taken place within the framework of a balance of power. Even during the negotiations themselves each party was putting pressure on the other through military actions in order to get the largest gains possible from its opponent.

Is this the situation of Egypt in its negotiations with Israel with America's participation? And is it enough to rely on President Carter's morals in order for Egypt to obtain, not what it wants, but at least the required minimum of Egyptian and Arab claims?

In this Egyptian-Israeli-American meeting, was the balance of power in Egypt's favor or at least equal between Egypt and Israel? And can America be neutral in any issue concerning Israel? And even if we supposed that the American leaders are full of good intentions toward Egypt and the Arabs, are these leaders able to deal with the centers of power in the Congress and elsewhere in such a way as to justify this supposition?

What the other Arabs are demanding is a modification of the balance of power which is tilted sharply in favor of Israel, and this is the reason for the insistence that the negotiations take place under the auspices of international legality. Proof of this is the fact that nothing came out of the Egyptian-Israeli negotiations except an agreement about what it was possible to agree on, and a postponement of that about which there was disagreement (for example, the issue of Jerusalem). Is it wise and is it in the interest of the Egyptians, Arabs, and Moslems to achieve secondary gains and to leave the basic problems unresolved? And is the effectiveness of the card held by Egypt, on the Arab side, after the October War, still valid after the signing of the Egyptian-Israeli Treaty? And is that which Israel refused to concede to Egypt going to be conceded by her to the others?

This leads us to a discussion about the West and the attitude of the West, led by America, concerning the East as a whole, and the Arab-Israeli conflict in particular. We will find no better evidence to offer in this regard than what President Sadat himself said in his book "The Story of Arab Unity," Cairo 1957. The following statement is in it: "The West looks upon the East as only a horde of millions of people who are hungry, naked, and illiterate, and sees the role of the West toward these millions of people as that of imposing its mandate over them according to Western concepts. In doing this the West is once again running counter to the truth, to history, and to human values." Has there been any change in the things President Sadat said about the role "of the civilized world which is laughing at us" and its aims? If so, where, and how, and when?

And finally we ask: Who are the doves, and who are the hawks in Israel? And on what basis is it possible to classify forces in Israel? This classification is to be fundamentally rejected because all Israelis are hawks when it comes to basic issues, though they might show flexibility and pliability in secondary issues. The clearest proof of this is that every day the Egyptian Government finds itself forced to issue a statement against Israeli declarations and decisions made by the government that it has negotiated with, whether it concerns Jerusalem or the West Bank or anything else.

#### The Legitimacy of the PLO in Representing the Palestinians

The Egyptian president says the Sinai belongs to Egypt, so he is speaking about it and negotiating for it. And the Golan Heights belong to Syria, so he does not have the right to speak in its behalf, but as for the West Bank and Gaza, "the PLO can't claim to be their representative. Why? Because



in the PLO there are 20 organizations, all of them condemning each other..." And he draws the conclusion that he "is the representative of the West Bank and Gaza because those poor people don't have a representative." He tells how Begin, in Camp David, embarrassed him when he asked him: "Why didn't the Arab states establish a Palestinian state in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip before the 1967 War?"

The Arabs, and above all the Palestinians, wish that they had a single movement in a single organization with a single struggle, and within a single ideology. This is a general aspiration, not limited to just the Egyptian president. It is shared by everyone.

But we should not forget that the Palestinian problem is the final outlet of the Arab struggle, taking in all its streams and tributaries, and consequently it is the end product, in miniature, of the Arab ideologies in all their facets and sources. This is, of course, a token of both strength if it is used well, and a token of weakness if it is abused in secondary conflicts (within the organizations and in their relations with others).

The PLO was and still is the basic common denominator which has brought together all the Palestinian, Arab, and international forces, and they have considered it to be the sole legal representative of the Palestinian people. And this recognition acquired its political legitimacy only by using as a basis its revolutionary legitimacy. The reality which the PLO deals with (a diversity of organizations) is nothing new to the Arabs, nor is it new to President Sadat himself. It existed before the Rabat decisions. Nevertheless Egypt has been among those who recognized the legitimacy of the PLO, and its right to represent the Palestinians and Palestinian soil, in a number of Arab, Islamic, and international assemblies. If the difference in interpretation, however radical it might be, is what allows the Egyptian president to withdraw his recognition of the PLO's legitimacy and its right to speak in behalf of the West Bank and the Gaza Strip, then, by using the same criteria, what is for example preventing the Egyptian president from assigning to himself the right to speak in behalf of Lebanon, in the condition that it is in with its conflict and mutual accusations between the factions?

As for why a Palestinian state was not established on the West Bank and in the Gaza Strip before the 1967 War, this is a question which should basically be addressed not to the Palestinians, but rather to the Arab states, which were led by the Egypt of King Faruq and Egypt of the Revolution, one of the leaders of which was President Sadat. Furthermore, Egypt was the axis of their activity, both within and outside the Arab League. In acting thus the Arabs, rightly or wrongly, since the beginning of the Palestinian problem, have seemingly been avoiding the acceptance of little in order not to lose a lot. It never occurred to anybody that things would one day reach the point where the president of Egypt would accept less than a little as a preliminary toward losing more than a lot. And as for the assault against the Rejectionist Front (Syria, Iraq, and Libya), this is something that we had to reckon with because it is based on personal defamation.

## The Campaign Against Saudi Arabia and Its Role in Boycotting Egypt

The Egyptian president reaches the main theme of his speech when he attacks the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia, by referring to:

The special relationship that had existed between Egypt and Saudi Arabia.

Emphasizing the role of the late King Feisal in establishing such relationships that were based on mutual respect for the position of each party, since "everyone made his own decisions" and "the head of a house knew best about his household," that is, "I didn't ask him to do anything he might not have been able to do, and he didn't ask me to do anything I might not have been able to do."

The uttering of accusations--by means of quoting the late king--against some Arab rulers.

The view that the rulers of Saudi Arabia are the ones who "got the whole Arab world to break off relations with Egypt after the signing of the treaty," and that some broke off relations as an act of courtesy, and the others were incited to do so.

A citation of the reasons which, in his opinion, justify this action on the part of Saudi Arabia, and he mentions that there are three of them, but quotes only two, which are: 1) the threat that Saudi Arabia might be exposed to from the "Rejectionist Group," 2) or that Saudi Arabia "wants to become the leader of the Arab world."

In order to penetrate the circumstances and factors of this campaign and reveal its true aims, we point out: The relationship that existed between Egypt and Saudi Arabia (Sadat-Feisal) really was a special relationship. And this relationship continued to have its special nature after the death of King Feisal. The Egyptian president knows that better than anyone. President Sadat also knows something else that he needs to be reminded of, and that is that the late king (may God have mercy on his soul), during his whole life, had never experienced a defamation campaign to equal the one waged against him by Egypt's communications media. But he tolerated it, and his kingdom tolerated it along with him, for the sake of Egypt, its honor, and its people. And he surprised the Egyptians themselves when he unhesitatingly showed his Arab generosity in supporting Egypt after the defeat of June 1967, as if nothing had happened between them. This attitude has still definitely existed during the regime of King Khalid, but within the limits of the Arabs' higher interests. This is because the special relationship between Saudi Arabia and Egypt, no matter how special it might be, still remains subordinate to the criterion of the Arabs' higher interests. And the primary criterion of these higher interests is the Palestine problem. These are conclusive facts which cannot be disputed.

Though it is unnecessary--one could say inappropriate--to present a listing of the evidence that affirms the fact that Saudi Arabia is still continuing this policy of a special relationship with Egypt (financial and political

support, international initiatives and pressure). Still a careful reading of the Saudi statement issued after Camp David affirms that Saudi Arabia, which "respects the right of every Arab state to regain its occupied lands," at the same time does not separate this right from the right of the Palestinians to determine their own future. The two rights are inseparable from each other, because the basic issue is a single one. The spirit of this statement was full of "mutual respect for each party's position," but within a correct view of the problem as a whole. It is true that "the head of a house knows best about his household." But if his actions in his household greatly affect the households of his brothers, "then that is another matter, and we have to watch it closely!"

On another level, the Egyptian president is using methods of psychological warfare in two directions: The first one is an attempt to sow discord and disunity between Saudi Arabia and Syria (arousing sectarian feelings) and between Saudi Arabia and Iraq (arousing political feelings--the issue of Kuwait!). The second one is an attempt to mislead the Egyptian people into thinking that the Arab states are boycotting Egypt, not out of conviction and because of the wrong path followed by Egypt's policy, but because of incitement and intimidation. And if, for the sake of argument, we did assume that some of this has happened, still the lesson that the Egyptian regime should have learned is that there is no scope for any Arab state to defend the present direction of Egypt's policy. Consensus is one of the pillars of law-making, and the Arab nation does not unanimously agree on something that is false.

Regarding "the reasons for the Saudi position," what the president said about the two factors of a threat on the one hand and the leadership on the other hand, and this has been echoed by his confidant Nadim Mansur in the magazine OCTOBER (April 29, 1979) when he wrote about "Saudi Arabia and the others, where are they going?" and was lent further support by Ali Hamdi al-Gamal in AL-AHRAM (May 4, 1979) when he used, as a heading, "Leaders cannot be bought with money and cannot be forced by intimidation," or when he openly said, "Saudi Arabia imagines that it has become the leader and commander of the Arab world"--all of this can be classified under the heading of conjecture, incitement, disregard, and excluding possibilities, in order to obliterate the real reasons for Saudi Arabia's position.

It is true that Saudi Arabia's Arab, Islamic, and international role has become larger and more extensive due to the economic power that the Kingdom possesses. Does this bother our Egyptian brothers?

And when the Kingdom proceeds to utilize this growing role, to serve the interests and rights of the Arabs', above all Egyptian interests, is there something in this which harms the Egyptian leaders?

The leadership of the Arab world, rather than being a question of "economic power," "population density," or "cultural position," is a question of political choices. This leadership is not something that is given, it is something that is earned by any faction which embodies the interests of the

Arabs and the aspirations of their generations in a given historical situation. The leadership is not a monopoly of any Arab state. It is something which is earned, and imposes itself on everyone in the Arabs' struggle for their destiny.

#### Egypt's "Definitive" Position and the Arab Boycott of Egypt

In the third and last part of his speech, President Sadat defines Egypt's position with regard to the Arab boycott and the peace initiative, pursuing to the extreme his policy of isolation, by asserting:

Egypt will not move backwards. We will keep on normalizing our relations with Israel. "This is the will of 40 million Egyptians."

Breaking off relations will not affect Egypt--it will not affect Egypt's status, nor Egypt's leadership, nor Egypt's strength, nor Egypt's economy.

Whenever "Israel takes a step forward on the road toward peace, we will encourage her and will take two steps forward." President Sadat's relentlessness in his attitude, the burning of bridges with the Arab world (and the Moslem world), this radicalism mixed with bitterness, this method which is based on inciting Egyptian feelings against the Arab world, extolling poverty in the face of wealth ("they indict us for being poor, and we have morals... and their wealth is a result of the blood of our sons"), all of these things confirm a basic truth, which is that the Egyptian president is behaving like a man who is living in isolation and defeat. And his great dilemma is that he cannot go back to where he was. He has reached the point where he is unable to admit his mistake, and has become obligated to defend his position as if he were infallible. And the great tragedy which may befall Egypt and the Arab world is that everybody will fall into a dilemma which he cannot back out of. Begin's comment on Sadat's speech was clear: "Sadat's words bring great relief to Israel." But what Begin did not say, but which was said in the minds of all Arab citizens, is that whenever Sadat's words bring great relief to Israel, they accordingly cause great alarm in the Arab world!

Now then, where are we now, and what are the probabilities for the future in light of President Sadat's speech and the American-Israeli position?

1. The basic mistake being made by the Egyptian president is his total confidence in "the good intentions of America." Relations between countries are relations based on interests and not relations based on morals. If we accepted, for the sake of argument, President Sadat's idea that America holds 99 percent of the cards regarding the solution to the Middle East problem, then the Egyptian president should accept our idea, especially after experiencing it for himself during the negotiations, that at least 51 percent of America's position is not in America's hands, but rather in the hands of the Zionists. The result of this is that the Egyptian president, in his honest efforts to arrive at a "just and lasting" peace, was faced with two impossibilities, one of them direct, and the other one indirect.

2. The second basic mistake, made by the Egyptian president and by America, is the assumption that the Arab world is ready to accept any kind of peace, basing this on Saudi Arabia's role, its special relationships with both America and Egypt, and its ability to influence a number of Arab countries to get them to go along with the policy of seeking a settlement. This mistake originates in the false belief that Saudi strategy is identical to American strategy. The Americans and Egyptians were surprised, but should not have been surprised, to learn that Saudi strategy approximates American strategy, but does not completely agree with it, and it is not necessary that it completely agree with it.

3. The Egyptian president and American administration do not need to search for reasons and motives for Saudi Arabia's position. It is the position of one who is pressuring the Americans not to let the balance of power tilt in favor of Israel at a time when it "removed" the weight of the Egyptian president from the balance of the scales. In short, the issue is not an issue of sitting down at the negotiation table, but rather an issue of a balance of power in which the Egyptian president imagines that he is able to fill a gap with his "moralistic praise"!

4. So Saudi Arabia, who is the leader of the boycott, is at the same time trying to rescue the Egyptian president himself and Egypt, and trying to enforce the claims of the Arabs, and thus has in mind "to eat the grapes, not to kill the vineyard watchman." The summit meeting in Baghdad clearly spelled it out for the Egyptian president and America: This is the minimum that we can accept. We are seeking peace and not war. The proof of this is that whoever did not accept Resolution 242 now accepts it. All of that demonstrates good intentions and complete readiness to solve the problem in its entirety. However, the Egyptian president, faced with the obstinacy of Begin and in an effort to save Carter's reputation, has gone much farther than he should have.

5. America is worried about the Egyptian president's situation, about Egypt's isolation from the Arabs and from the Moslem world, and is more worried about the development of the conflict between Egypt and Saudi Arabia. How can that be avoided? America, Israel, and Egypt are faced with two choices:

They could profit from the Arab consensus and offer joint concessions concerning the rights of the Palestinians and Jerusalem, and consequently, arrive at a formula which will satisfy the Arabs. That is a difficult matter, but not impossible. America now knows that either all of the Arabs will accept peace, or none of them will. This solution has its proponents in Washington and Tel Aviv.

Or they could strive to break the link of Arab solidarity through Israeli military action in Lebanon, Syria, and Jordan in order to strip off the beads of the Arab necklace and confront the Arabs with a new status quo. This solution also has its proponents in Washington and Tel Aviv. Indications of it have begun to be felt in Lebanon through Menahem Begin's statements and Israeli bombers!



6. The people of Egypt, up till now--and it may be true for a while still--have not digested the significance of what has happened. They need time in order to digest this significance, and to absorb it, and when that happens there will be negative repercussions in the domestic situation of Egypt. Perhaps President Sadat already has committed a fatal mistake when he sought to attack the Arab moderates. An Egyptian citizen might find lots of justifications for having his president attack the regime in Libya, Iraq, or Syria, but an attack on Saudi Arabia, for example, will be questioned by Egyptian public opinion. If we add to this the position of the Moslem countries, then we will realize the seriousness created by this.

7. During this difficult transitional period, what are the Arabs doing, and can they maintain their solidarity in order to put more pressure on President Sadat, America, and Israel?

This is the basic question that sums up the whole situation. This is why we said that everybody is betting on the factor of time. And this is why we said that it must be taken into consideration that the new Egyptian-Israeli alliance will proceed from a stage of agreement to a stage of attack. The Middle East is approaching critical times during which all the parties may be afflicted with the pressure of events which will force them to take positions which will be extremist...or suicidal, or destructive!

And those who know secrets are saying that the geopolitical map of the Middle East has already begun to be redrawn!!!

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NATIONAL DEMOCRATS CRITICAL OF KHOMEYNI POLICIES

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[Article: "Iranian National Democrats Critical of Ayatollah Khomeyni"]

[Text] Tehran, 4 June (Reuter/dpa/AP)--For the first time since the revolution, the Ayatollah Khomeyni, leader of the Iranian Shiites, was strongly attacked by a political group. In an open letter the leftwing National Democratic Front (NDF) accused the religious leader of interference in domestic and foreign policy. Emphatically rejected was Khomeyni's opinion that a person simply opposed to the idea of an Islamic republic was already an enemy of the revolution. The NDF called attention to the fact that before his return from exile Khomeyni repeatedly confirmed that the religious group led by him did not want to govern. Now, in practice, things are different: Khomeyni has assumed "political and government powers," and he has even been giving direct instructions to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, as was the case when relations with Egypt were broken off. To be sure, this measure was necessary, but it should have been ordered by the prime minister and not the Ayatollah. Khomeyni was advocating freedom of expression and freedom of the press. In reality, however, according to the letter by the Front, mobilized groups were attacking newspapers in the name of religion, they were threatening journalists, interfering with deliveries and setting fire to book-stores. Because of their views, teachers were expelled from schools and universities. National radio and television were spreading provocative commentaries, falsifying the news and sowing discord.

The Ayatollah Taleqani, a religious leader who is considered progressive, expressed the opinion that the mullahs should stay away from politics. According to Tehran newspaper reports, Taleqani turned down a candidacy for the office of the presidency of the Islamic Republic, saying "the best place for the clergy is the Mosque. There they can instruct the people." Sanjabi, the National Front leader and former minister of foreign affairs in the Iranian transitional government, labeled the country's radio, and television "reactionary." According to the TEHRAN TIMES, Sanjabi had declared that Ghotbzadeh, chief of these media, is considering radio and television "private property."

The directors of the National Iranian Oil Company (NIOC) resigned un-  
animously. This step followed a statement published on the weekend,  
according to which no real work was possible because of current con-  
ditions. In Tehran it was said that the seven directors who resigned  
took this step to support NIOC President Nazih. Nazih had stated that  
not all areas of life could be regulated according to Islamic  
principles.

According to PANA, the Tehran news agency, nine more former members of  
the armed forces and three Savak members were executed last weekend, in-  
cluding three former generals. The executions took place in Tabriz,  
Masjed-e Soleyman, Qom and Tehran. Among the executed are General  
Gholamhosseyn Shams Tabrizi, former military governor of Ahwaz, Brigadier  
General Hashem Hamadani, former police chief of Khuzestan Province, as  
well as General Gholamhosseyn Ala'i, garrison commander of Masjed-e  
Soleyman.

Several thousand members of the Arab minority in Khorramshar have de-  
manded that the government in Tehran remove Admiral Madani, governor of  
the province. In addition, according to a list of demands by demonstrators  
published in Tehran's newspapers, he must be publicly condemned for the  
"killing" of Arabs. Furthermore, Iran's Prime Minister Bazargan is  
supposed to deny within 48 hours "incorrect radio and television news  
about the events in Khorramshar" and see to it that television censorship  
is revoked. Also, it was demanded that "Turks, Kurds, Lurs, Arabs, Baluchis  
and Turkomans" be given the same rights in Iran as the Persians have.

The religious leader Ayatollah Taheri declared that he sees "the hand of  
Iraq" behind the unrests in Khorramshar. It was written in the Tehran  
newspaper KEYHAN that the Ayatollah had warned the neighboring country  
about inciting unrests. According to a report in the Kuwait newspaper  
AL QABAS, the Soviet Union allegedly asked Arafat, leader of the Organi-  
zation for the Liberation of Palestine (PLO), to mediate the dispute  
between Iran and Iraq. The Kuwait paper AL SIYASSA, however, stated that  
Assad, Syria's head of state, wanted to mediate. In an interview,  
printed in the Kuwait newspaper AL ANBA, Nureddin Kianuri, general  
secretary of Iran's communist Tudeh Party accused the United States and  
Great Britain of supporting secession movements in Iran and wanting to  
exploit them for their own purposes. At the same time, Kianuri affirmed  
that he was supporting the policies of the revolutionary leader Ayatollah  
Khomeyni because they are "hostile to the United States and the Shah and  
are striving for better living conditions for the majority of the people."

8991  
CSO: 4403

## BACKGROUND OF FORQAN GROUP ANALYZED

Tehran AYANDEGAN in Persian 10 May 79 p 14

[Text] The bullets that killed Major General Qarani and Professor Motahari were warnings to all those who are anxious about the continuation of Iran's revolution. Flyers taking responsibility for the killings were distributed by a group that called itself "Forqan." People started guessing and making comments. They wanted to know who the terrorists were and what they wanted. With much assurance some said that they were Communists. Some believed that they were working for SAVAK, CIA and MOSAD. Some believed that it was the appearance of heathenism.

Whatever the comments were, they all condemned terrorism and considered it an unmanly action. Religious factions and leftist groups all asked for the identification and punishment of the criminals.

As a responsible newspaper, AYANDEGAN found it a duty to research the principles and ideology of this group and inform the people of the results.

The purpose was to let the people know what type of group they were facing and help the government to determine what actions to take.

In a free society, the free press has a revolutionary and religious obligation of informing the people of what is going on and alleviating any confusion. For this reason, the research team of AYANDEGAN prepared itself to find out about the ideology and fundamental beliefs of Forqan. Many people also helped by putting their scatter information at the disposal of the paper.

### The Telephone Rings

Four nights ago, the telephone rang and someone informed the AYANDEGAN research team that if they wanted to have all of the pamphlets, books and publications of Forqan, they can go to Farvardin Avenue, Danesh Alley and pick up two packages left under a Paykan (sedan). Two members of the research team went to the given address and brought the packages back with them. The packages were sent by Forqan and included their books and pamphlets, all typed papers of bad quality with the oldest dating 1356 (21 March 1977-21 March 1978).

The summary of studies made by AYANDEGAN research team is as follows. It should be pointed out here that the possibility that Forqan may have been established by an intelligence organization and penetrated by anti-revolutionary elements remains an assumption which requires separate investigations, which is within the jurisdiction of security officials.

#### Forqan's Belief System

Forqan believes in Islam and emphasizes on monotheism, Koran and its interpretation. It considers Koran "the compiled philosophy of God's party" (Koran's message--commentary on Yusef Chapter by Mohammad Hosseyn Al-e Yas).

Forqan believes that "no book will reach Koran's level, because it is God's insight and the essence of a superior power--which gives an amazing recognition to human beings on which they can lay the foundation for their evolvement." (Commentary on Mo'men and Faslat Chapters written by Najm Aldin Shakib). The narration specifies that only the Imams can interpret Koran and that anyone other than the Imams who does so has been giving comments of his own and is against the commentary given by an Imam and other Innocent Ones [i.e., Mohammad, his daughter and the 12 Imams]. However, this has a new meaning from Forqan's point of view. Forqan says that anyone who looks at Koran with a "revolutionary vision and based on the attitude and ideology of God's party with the methods used by Imams in making interpretations, can give commentary on Koran." (Commentary on Mohammad, victory, and prohibitions, chapter by Najm Aldin Shakib). Forqan mixes its commentaries on Koran for reaching political results and gives comments on today's condition with the help of verses from Koran.

#### Human Beings Are Like God

Forqan believes that the nature of human beings is godly and that in order to avoid being devilish, God's recognition should be the provisions for a fighter and his main credit for finding his revolutionary direction (Forqan 6). Forqan says that until reaching the godly nature and ideal--the definite heredity of earth by the poor--we should emphasize monotheism and take up arms in anger (Forqan 3). In the ideology of monotheism, man needs an evolved example of mankind. The prophets of monotheism, the Imams, and the believers exemplify God (Forqan 4).

#### Martyrs

Forqan shows a lot of respect for the martyrs. They say: "The basis for the martyr's ideology in the Islamic revolution is the compiled philosophy of God's party and the holy Koran. In other words, the martyr evaluates all of the directions, ebbs and tides and society's ups and downs with the principles of Koranic ideology (Monotheism, the second book, explanation on the sermon, religion enjoining not to commit what is unlawful and recommending to do good)."



In its publications, Forqan praises the Islamic martyrs, especially the martyrs of Mojaheddin-e Khalq Organization such as Sharif Vaqefi, Reza'i, and Naser Sadeq and gives a high position to Dr Ali Shari'ati in suffering martyrdom. Forqan divides the martyrs into two groups: martyrs of ideology and martyrs of strategy.

### Shiism

Forqan is the follower of Ali's Shiism. They say that "Ali's Islam, Hosseyn's suffering martyrdom and Zeynab's Koran regain their eternity despite all the plots. Imam Ali serves as a distinguished example of the prophet's family, an Imam who has become a human being. (Forqan 7)

### Leadership

Forqan believes that the leadership to profess God's unity is done by distinguished prophets and martyrs from the poor. By believing deeply the ideology of monotheism and the principles governing the general revolution of creation--with godly movement and in accordance with the nature of creation--the leaders lay the foundation to set the direction for saving the poor, the people and the Imamate (mission of an Imam) and their heredity.

### Clergy

It seems as though Forqan is inclined to "Islam without clergy." Instead of "clergy, the words "Akhund (theologian) and "Mollah" (person versed in theology) are used.

Forqan uses the word "Akhundism" for the clergy and accuses them of "dictatorship," being "reactionary" and deviating the monotheism struggles (Forqan 3), compromising with domestic and foreign powers, "charging the aware Moslems with a fault, and of communist and Wahabi characteristics.

Forqan accuses the clergy of defending the interests of the landowners and capitalists and believes that "Akhundist dictatorship" has made elements out of people by becoming a source of imitation to attain its own goals. (Forqan 7) Forqan believes that the leadership of the clergy has been wrong in the revolutions. (Forqan 4)

### The Poor

Forqan calls itself the supporter of the poor and believes that the looting of the capitals and values of the poor people have been the constant procedure/policy of all systems...colonialists and nonbelievers in monotheism. (Forqan 3) In most of its publications Forqan uses the chapter from Koran which reads "They want to hold all poor on earth under obligation and make them Imams by writing from the winners." [Qesas Chapter, 5th verse) They express hope that some day God's will regarding leaving heredity to the poor will come true. (Forqan 8)

## Fighting

Based on chapter 24, Namal Verse, Forqan believes that fighting is an inseparable part of mankind and it is essential for expressing the identity of the poor vis-à-vis those who take advantage of them. (Forqan 3).

Forqan believes that the main characteristics of believers is that socially and from God's nature they are constantly in bloody fighting with gods of history and the masters of the world. (Forqan 4)

Forqan makes propaganda for armed fighting and revolutionary harshness and political-military actions and despises political fighting (i.e., meetings, sitting on strike, etc.). (Forqan 8)

In Dr Shari'ati's writings, there is not any reason for terrorism: In the past 3 weeks, the name of a group who has claimed responsibility for the murder of two military and religious personalities has been repeated so many times as it is done with the names of famous persons. However, the members and followers of this group cannot give reassurance to themselves that they will have a place more than a margin in Iran's history and in the world's history of terrorism. What results in the influence and survival of a group or an organization is the power for their reasoning, guidance and ideas.

Even if the commentators do not find Forqan's support of the late Ali Shari'ati unrelated and a result of a misunderstanding, killing the supposedly critic of the late Shari'ati will not help spread his ideology. The truth is that either willingly or unwillingly Forqan brings Dr Shari'ati's name together with terrorism. This is something that even those who have not read the writings of Shari'ati carefully, do not find it logical.

One of the founders of Hosseniyeh Ershad (mosque) told AYANDEGAN that he has some tapes with the voices of Dr Shari'ati and Ayatollah Motahari praising one another. Now, can we say that praising Ayatollah Motahari has been a pretension? Has an uncompromising and tough personality such as Ali Shari'ati been able to do so?

Continuation of Shari'ati's way is possible by knowing his philosophy and it is evident that there has been no excuse for obstinacy, individualism and terrorism.

## Attacking the Leftists, China and Russia

Forqan considers Russia and China imperialists like the United States. While it considers Davoud Khan's government in Afghanistan set up by the United States, it attacks the coup regime of Afghanistan and calls it pro-Russian and their agent. Forqan swears at Marxists and calls them the dirty leftists and Marxist traitors to the Islamic liberation movements (Forqan 4) and condemns the dictatorship of the party. (Forqan 7)

Forqan finds the Eastern colonialism as dangerous as the Western colonialism (Forqan 3) and emphasizes that the activities of the leftist elements in inflicting a blow on the unification revolution is another disaster. (Forqan 7)

Forqan considers the Tudeh Party a branch of SAVAK (Forqan 4) and believes that the leftist elements, the bazaar intellectuals and the clergy have deviated the poor Moslem people from an armed revolution. (Forqan 6) About the fire catastrophe at Rex Cinema in Abadan, Forqan says that it was either the work of the criminal shah, the ruling clergy or the leftists. (Forqan 8) Forqan believes that these three were cooperating with one another.

#### Attacking the Shah and the Army

During the course of revolution, Forqan attacked SAVAK, the deposed Shah and his "freedom and open political atmosphere. At the time of Sharif Imami, it called the parliament debates as "Parliament tumult" and made propaganda for an armed fighting with the Shah's regime. (Forqan 3, 4, 6) Forqan attacked the Pan-Iranists (Forqan 8) and considered the national front as "guarding the interests of the national bourgeois. (Forqan 12) Forqan considered the slogan of "Army is our brother" incorrect and accused the clergy, the leftist elements "especially the dirty Tudeh's (Forqan 8) of wanting to penetrate into the army to their own benefit to take the reins of the government. In its publications, Forqan attacked the army and called it the Shah's colonialist and servant. (Forqan 8)

#### The United States, Cuba, Malek Hosseyn

Forqan repeatedly attacks the American imperialism, Zionism, England, France, Sadat, the Egyptian regime, Cuba, Saudi Arabia, Syria, Lebanese Falanges, Japan (Industrial imperialism) (Forqan 3, 4, 6, 7) and considers itself the supporter of Eritrea Moslems' Movement, PLO under the leadership of Arafat, Islamic and non-Islamic liberation movements and Sahara movement. (Forqan 3, 4)

#### Attacking the Press

Forqan considered the press opportunist in their strike and writes: The press strike was a contradictory solution from the domestic and public point of view, in their way of interpretation. In other words, after the so-called order for freedom of press was issued by Sharif Imami's government, the owners and heads of the suffocating imperialist press which were looking for a pretext to change their torn papers and make it a pole for the powerful, took advantage of the golden occasion and related themselves to the revolution in order to survive and (from the fear of) giving explanation on their past treacheries. In the meantime, under the pretext of freedom of press and the return of its suffocators to the arms of the nation and finally dominating the thoughts of bazaar intellectuals with "Akhundism," they increased the price of their newspaper. (Forqan, Special edition published in Bahman, 1357 [21 Jan-19 Feb 1978])

## Bazargan

Before and after the revolution, Forqan showed hostility towards Bazargan. In Forqan 2, Bahman month, 1357 (21 Jan-19 Feb 1978) Forqan accused Mehdi Bazargan and Motahari in taking position and plotting against the writings and ideas of Dr Ali Shari'ati. It accused Bazargan that in his book entitled "Imam & Zaman", he had accused Shari'ati of making schism and inflicting a blow in the revolution of the Iranian nation. Another accusation made by Forqan included calling Bazargan reactionary, related to the United States, and obedient to the ruling clergy who have kept the colonialist army and set up censorship in the press and television. (Forqan 13)

## Shari'ati

Forqan strongly defends Dr Ali Shari'ati and considers him a martyr of his ideology. In most of its publications, it quotes from Dr Shari'ati. For instance, in Forqan, special edition issued in Bahman, 1357 (12 Jan-19 Feb 1978) on the occasion of Dr Shari'ati's death, the issue was called "The Martyr for God's Reasoning/Proof, and the publication related to Motahari's murder. Forqan considers itself a group continuing Dr Shari'ati's ideology regarding Islam without Akhunds and Mullahs (clergy), expressing pessimism towards the clergy (the collection of Shari'ati's work, first volume) (special edition of Bahman, 1357) (21 Jan-19 Feb 1978). Apparently for this reason Forqan considers Shari'ati's enemy as its own enemy and asks the people to take hostile positions against those who intend to injure Shari'ati's ideology. (Martyr for God's reasoning) In the same publication Forqan refers and attacks statement made on 23-9-56 (14 Dec 1977) signed by Bazargan and Motahari in which all forces had been asked to put aside their differences and fight with the enemy. The statement indicated that Dr Shari'ati had made a lot of mistakes in Islamic issues. Forqan says that that is incorrect and has claimed that the statement was made to change the aims of the martyrs and the revolutionary culture. Forqan's hostility towards Motahari becomes evident here and in an announcement made a few days ago following the murder of Motahari, Forqan accuses Motahari of turning his back to the unification movement of the Iran's poor Islamic nation during Satan's era and taking position against Shari'ati. Forqan also accuses Motahari of making the terms "Materialist hypocrit" in order to isolate the Moslems who are followers of monotheism. In the meantime, Forqan attacked Motahari's membership in the Revolutionary Council.

## Major General Qarani's Murder

In a statement issued by Forqan following the death of Major General Qarani, they announced that they have killed the general for cooperating with the United States, the former regime, taking action in suppressing the Moslem people in Kurdistan, reorganizing the army and for "being a corrupt element on earth." Despite all, the evidence indicates that Qarani's murder cannot be unrelated to his closeness of Ayatollah Milani.

In an interview with JAVANAN magazine (issue No. 21 dated Friday 14-2-58 [4 May 1979]), Qarani had said that he has had contacts with Ayatollah Milani and that he was enjoying spiritual and financial assistance from the Ayatollah. If we consider the differences between Ayatollah Milani and Dr Shari'ati and bear in mind the strong support of Forqani for Shari'ati, we will reach new points. Especially by emphasizing that in his book "With Familiar Speakers" (p 13, Collection of his writings, p 13) Dr Shari'ati openly attacks Ayatollah Milani and says: The Jewish Gavarvich (sic), materialist, Communist was closer to Shiites for his fightings with Hitler's fascism and Stalin's dictatorship and supporting the people of Algeria than Ayatollah Milani. He accuses Milani that whatever religious statements he has so far made has been to create conflict among the Moslems or to suppress any movements among them.

#### A Commentary on Forqan

Among the notes that AYANDEGAN has received for identifying Forqan, there was a note which reveals some interesting points. Without claiming the accuracy of whatever that the unidentified writer of the note has written, we publish it as follows:

Following the request made by AYANDEGAN from the readers to put their information on Forqan at the disposal of the paper in order that the mystery of the late Motahari's murder could be solved, it should be pointed out: Forqan's group considers itself a follower of Shari'ati. As you know, the late Shari'ati was the student of Masnion School. However, if we know the difference between "Masnion and Monsieur Carbon, the ideology of Shari'ati and his followers may become a little clearer to us. The two French orientalists were supporters of Sufism and gnosticism. However, there is a main difference separating the two orientalists. Monsieur Henry Carbon is the follower of Sayyid Haydar Amoli who in the book "Jame'Al Asrar" points out Shiism is the outward manifestation of Suffism and Suffism is the inward manifestation of Shiism. However, like most orientalists, Masnion looks at Suffism from the Sunnite's point of view and therefore in some of his writings, Dr Shari'ati expresses Sunnite ideologies. This resulted in statements written against Dr Shari'ati by more than 30 first-class Iranian religious authorities.

For instance, Ayatollah Seyyed Mohammad Hosseyn Tabataba'i who is considered as Monsieur Carbon's teacher (Motahari and Monsieur Carbon had learned Shiite Suffism from Tabataba'i.)

Late Shari'ati did not so much pretend to Sunnite beliefs that his students do of Forqani (sic). The book "The Eternal Martyr" set the flame of war among the Sunnite followers and Shiites. Ayatollah Shams Abadi became the martyr for this group's prejudice. His case has been clarified and specified in the court of Isfahan and definite sentences have been given.



Imam Musa Sadr was also killed by the general commander of Forqans; i.e., Qadhdhafi. "Islam Without Clergy" is the thesis of Qadhdhafi's Sunnite belief in the 20th Century. And, therefore, the statement made by Forqan attacks the establishment of Mullah's government in exile. (Referring to Khomeyni's government in Paris.)

Therefore, Forqan is an identified group which is the stronger defender of Sunnite Suffism of Masnion and Shari'ati's Shiism believing in Ali. And it is in fighting with classic beliefs or in Dr. Shari'ati's words "Safawite Shiism" and has no relation with Marxist ideology. It can be said that from the viewpoint of Marxists, their ideology is more superficial than the classic Shiite beliefs, as they openly defend Vahabbis and Sunnite publications and it is not known for what reason engineer Bazargan and Hashimi Rafsanjani relate them to Marxists.

9156

CSO: 4906

## FORMATION OF SEVERAL ISLAMIC PARTIES EXPLAINED

Tehran ETTELA'AT in Persian 28 Apr 79 p 8

[Interview with religious leaders]

[Text] Yesterday in a press interview the aims and position of the Islamic Republican Party was explained.

Mr Seyyed Sadr Al Din Belaghi, Dr Ahmad 'Alizadeh, the provisional secretary to Moslem People's Islamic Republican Party and Mr Seyyed Hadi Khosroshahi, the provisional spokesman of the party participated in the interview held by the domestic and foreign press.

In the beginning of the interview, held at the temporary location of the party, Mr Seyyed Sadr Al Din Belaghi referred to the formation of two parties--the Islamic Republican Party and Iran's Moslem People's Islamic Republican Party and said: The establishment of these two parties with the same aims and strategy has brought up some questions. The reason is the long oppression in the past 50 years during which time the people were kept away from social and party political affairs. Therefore, the question has been brought up as to when there is an Islamic Republican Party, why should the Moslem People's Islamic Republican Party be established? Whereas, the holy Koran has clearly determined a duty for Moslems and that is supervision over the works of Moslems (religion enjoining not to commit what is unlawful or wicked and recommending to do good). That is why we find it necessary by Koran's commandment to have more than one party. When there is the first eye, first ear, first hand and first leg, the second eye, the second ear, the second hand and the second leg are also created. The doubles do not bring about any conflict or damage as they are for maintaining balance and moving towards the aim. The aim of having two parties is not to have differences, combats and battles. It is for reaching the aim by cooperation.

Secret Activities

After the explanation presented by Seyyed Sadr Al Din Belaghi, the domestic and foreign correspondents asked questions of the provisional responsible

authorities of Iran's Moslem People's Islamic Republican Party. The questions and answers are as follows:

Question: Has Iran's Moslem People's Islamic Republican Party had previously some activities? What is its doctrine?

Answer: Our Party is the fourth Islamic party to be established. So far, because of suppression during the era of the "Satan," we have had only secret activities. Of course the party was not established recently, but in the past 25 years, the founders of the party have had active political struggles and we have all been tortured, imprisoned and expelled. Therefore, the Islamic parties do not have any differences from the viewpoint of origin and aim. However, there may be certain differences of opinion in methods and tactics, which is quite natural and in a long range, the tactics will be practically specified. Therefore, it is not possible to determine the details of differences among the parties at the present time. About our doctrine, I should say that both our doctrine and those of other Islamic parties have been published and they may be compared. In our doctrine there are some points that cannot be found in the principles and doctrines of other parties. We believe that the doctrine of the Moslem People's Party is more complete without saying that their doctrine is incomplete.

Question: Now that you are talking about the mutual aim of the Islamic parties, could you mention what this aim is?

Answer: The aim is to revive the constitutional right of all people in Iran with the establishment of an Islamic Republic. The Islamic Republic is God's just government upon the people and by the people.

#### The Leadership of Party and Religious Authorities

Question: What kind of leadership in society does Iran's Moslem People's Islamic Republican Party believe in. An absolute leadership or group leadership.

Answer: Our party believes in group leadership and this is not against Shiite regulations. As we consider the Shiite religious authorities above all, we accept their leadership because it was as a result of their leadership that we gained victory in the course of revolution. In the party, we believe in group leadership. This does not mean that a religious authority would lead the party, as the Central Committee will express its votes and opinions. If there is a mistake, the Shiite religious authorities will express their views and give warnings. Obviously, if our decisions in religious matters turn out to be wrong, they can obviously change our mind, as they have the right to make religious statements and their views are decisive. For political matters, we will consult the religious authorities. This does not mean that they can give us orders. We will only exchange views and the best idea and thought will be selected.

Question: What is the opinion of Moslem People's Islamic Republican Party towards freedom?

Answer: A freedom will be accepted by the party if it is within the framework of the state laws and to the benefit of all classes of society and minorities. If such a freedom is negated, it will be interfered. Of course, such a freedom should not be to the loss of nation and country.

#### The New Constitution

Question: Recently some limitations have been imposed on women. The women had to give up their jobs as judges. The female teachers are to wear a scarf and veil. Female secretaries have been discharged from their positions. And eventually there is the fear that women would be left unemployed. Are you aware of the new constitution? If you are, could you mention what the woman's position is according to the new law?

Answer: The constitutional law has been compiled and reviewed by competent persons and legal experts. Shortly, it will be put at the disposal of the public, so that every class of society would express its views regarding the new constitutional law. Then, you will see what position has been given to women. It is even more than what has been considered for men. The women's limitations that you mentioned is one of the false remarks of the "Satan's" era. Not getting an education or not working are not issues that have been brought up at all. It has only been referred to women's veil which is an Islamic reality, however, it is not to be imposed or forced. Of course, I have to explain that the meaning of the veil is not the wearing of the "Chador" and in principle even men should have an Islamic modesty. About firing the secretaries from their jobs, I should say that most of these groups were hired for special reasons. For the same reasons, they were fired. As I mentioned, the legal rights of women have been fully observed in the constitutional law.

Question: Here, let us refer to Mr Sadeq Khalkhali's article which has become the daily topic. What is your opinion?

Answer: The publication of the article indicates a plot. We are not aware of its nature and quality. The article's author had self interests, because Ayatollah Shari'atmadri has said that he confirms Iran's Moslem People's Islamic Republican Party, not the way it was referred to in the article. The demonstrations which were held shows the people's political awareness and insight. In response to objections made to his article, he said: if the Rastakhiz Party had so many members, it would not have been defeated. On the other hand, in the present parties there may be people who had previously been members of Rastakhiz Party. However, their minor sins have been pardoned by the Imam. Because, if we consider everyone as a criminal, we would also be criminals. In the past 50 years, the people had to be quiet. As they were quiet, they were considered good by the administration. Whereas they had, in reality staged a quiet strike. In general, we have issued a

statement and it is better if we do not discuss this so that the anti-revolutionaries would not find a new opportunity.

Question: What is the role of Ayatollah Shari'atmadari in Moslem People's Islamic Republican Party?

Answer: As he knows us, he confirms our party. He is not one of the founders of the party. In a statement, he had confirmed the party.

#### An Unidentified Group Attacks

Question: We have heard that Mr Seyyed Sadr Al Din Belaghi was attacked and hurt by an unidentified group?

Answer: Once it was on Monday afternoon this week. The attackers were not identified. And, once on Tuesday (the day before yesterday) when he wanted to go to the bazaar where the businessmen were demonstrating against Khalkhali's article. Although he has heart problems, he was attacked by two men who were wearing army (tiger design) uniforms. He was hit in the face. The scar can still be seen. Of course, we believe that the anti-revolutionaries had arranged the attacks.

Question: What are your views regarding Forqan and Major General Qarani's terror?

Answer: We condemn the terror of Major General Qarani. However, we believe that Forqan is a fake group.

Question: The name of your party was Moslem People's Republic. Was there any reason for changing the name?

Answer: No. The name was completed by adding the words Islamic Republic.

#### Denial

Question: It is said that the great Ayatollah Shari'atmadari intends to choose Tabriz for his permanent residence and that the party headquarters will also be in Tabriz?

Answer: This is strongly denied. The headquarters of the party will not be in Tabriz.

Question: Would you talk about expanding the party and the number of its members?

Answer: There are no precise statistics so far. The party offices have wide activities in the cities. However, there are some who try to involve us by making provocations and causing trouble. So far the anti-revolutionaries have attacked the party offices in Karaj, Arak, Hamadan, Saveh,



Ardabil, Khalkhal and some other places disguised as revolutionaries. We know that their aim is to create a confrontation with us. However, we will not oblige them as it will be to the benefit of anti-revolutionaries.

Question: What is the party's opinion regarding capital and ownership?

Answer: All of the properties, factories and assets of those who have extorted the people's rights should be confiscated for the benefit of the nation. In the meantime, as the needs of the society become apparent, genuine ownerships will be confiscated to the benefit of the people by the order of Islamic rule.

#### Radio and Television

Question: What is the party's opinion regarding the army?

Answer: As indicated in the party's doctrine, the establishment of a new, independent army whose duty is to defend the country and the interests of Iran's Moslem People is our wish without having any integral relations either with the West or the East.

Question: What is the position of Moslem People's Islamic Republican Party vis a vis radio and television.

Answer: Radio and television belong to the nation and they should equally be put at the disposal of the parties, society and different classes of people.

Question: What is your opinion regarding the current programs of radio and television?

Answer: The current programs are not complete. This is because production was stopped but it has started again. The programs should be limited not to spread corruption as it did in the past. In general they should not be anti-revolutionary.

Question: What is the minorities right regarding the radio and TV programs. Don't they need entertaining programs?

Answer: Undoubtedly, there should also be entertaining programs, as it cannot be all serious. However, the programs should not revive the past and lead to all night entertainments and night events and adventures.

Question: Why aren't women allowed to participate in television programs?

Answer: So far we have seen some of them.

Question: They appeared prior to the referendum. After the referendum, only a small girl wearing a scarf performs the program.

Answer: I don't know, ask Mr Qotbzadeh about it.

#### Chain of Command

Here Mr Sadr Belaghi referred to the chain of command among the clergy and asked the press: Ladies and Gentlemen I request that in order to clarify public opinion you use the chain of command for the clergy as it is done in the army.

9044

CSO: 4906

## GOVERNOR ANNOUNCES DISARMAMENT IN KHUZESTAN

Tehran ETTELA'AT in Persian 16 May 79 p 7

[Text] Following the attack made to the staff headquarters of the former committee of the city of Khorramshahr on 23rd of Ordibehesht [13 May] yesterday, Rear Admiral Ahmad Madani, Dr, Commander of the Iranian Islamic Republic Navy, who is also the provincial governor of Khuzestan, told our correspondent in an exclusive interview: "Those elements have been identified and will be prosecuted." Rear Admiral Madani added: "These elements are being controlled. We know very well where they get their nutrition from and we have their track. Those who have orchestrated the Arab and Iranian melody neither have any interests in Arabs nor in Iranians. They are nothing but servants of colonialism causing conflicts." Madani added: "The people of Khuzestan, both the Arabic-speaking and the Persian-speaking population, etc, think Iranian. They do not think of anything else but being Iranians. They neither sow discord nor do they consider themselves separate from us. Throughout the history they have protected our country.

Rear Admiral Madani added: "Today, if there are people who have orchestrated the Arab and Persian melody, they are the enemies of Iran. They are the same people who throughout the history, especially in the recent era, have caused a lot of calamities for the Iranian nation. Yesterday they inflicted a blow on the Iranian nation in one way and today in another way. However, I think that our dear brothers, sisters and children in Khuzestan are far too aware to be deceived by such elements who are the enemies of the people of Khuzestan. Therefore, shortly the anti-people and anti-Iranian elements will be betrayed."

In the end, Rear Admiral Madani said: "Our Arabic-speaking brothers know very well who these elements are and they are fighting with them. We are alert and careful that such elements do not grow as pests." Madani pointed out: "Starting Friday, disarmament will be enforced in Khuzestan and will continue for 1 week."

## CROWDS HAIL PLO REVOLUTION

Tehran ETTELA'AT in Persian 16 May 79 p 7

[Text] Yesterday afternoon thousands of people, friends and seekers of liberation for Palestine gathered on the lawn of Tehran University on the 15th of May, the 31st anniversary of the occupation of Palestine. Ayatollah Taleqani, the great fighter for liberty, brother Halim Nayeb, representative of Palestine revolution in Iran, Dr Hoseyn Ayati, on the part of the Islamic Republic Party as well as Ayatollah Khalkhali delivered speeches regarding the Palest'nian revolution.

The participants in this gathering announced their support and correlation with PLO struggles by giving mottoes. On their pickets, they condemned the occupation of Palestine territory, Jerusalem and Al Aqsa Mosque by Zionists and imperialists. In a part of his speech Ayatollah Taleqani said: "The people of Palestine and other nations in the world and those whose eyes are toward the direction of the first Islamic kiblah [direction to which Mohammedans turn in praying] as well as those who believe in Koran principles should join hands to liberate the first kiblah of Moslems.

Before thinking of Palestinians, we should think of Jerusalem. Because when we think of Jerusalem automatically we have thought of Palestinians, as they have always been tortured, killed and lived as evacuees. In the year 1327 [21 March 1948-20 March 1949] when I attended the first Islamic conference in Palestine, Arab and Islamic countries had also attended the conference. They only delivered emotional speeches and pretended that they were supporting the oppressed people. At that time the Palestinian people were not recognized by the United Nations officially. Some of the villages and cities of Palestine had been divided by barbed wire into two areas. And some members of one family looked in deep sorrow and regret to one another. Under the pressures, those defeated and mourning faces turned into fighting men, not only for Palestine, but for the whole world. They became an inspiration for the liberation of the oppressed. The day will come when Palestine is liberated and Jerusalem and the location of ascension (to heaven) is returned to its true owners. The owners of Jerusalem are all of the Moslems, Christians and Jewish people. However, the Zionists say that Jerusalem only belongs to them. God says: "If you do good deeds, you do them for yourselves and if you do evil, you do it against it." Don't be selfish like Begin. "Let him enter the mosque as they

entered it the first time." At the time of Islamic victory, corruption was rooted. Now that we have gathered here with the participation of the Palestine movement and in the memory of Palestinians, Imperialists and Zionists try to have the nation under constant suffering and moaning.

They are like foxes gathered on a corpse. In World War II, the Zionists condemned the Germans for racism for killing the Jewish people. But now they are committing the same acts. However, fortunately all of the people in the world have become aware of the condition of the Palestinians and their rights. They have only succeeded in making the poor Sadat agree with them. We should not attack Sadat. We should feel sorry for him, as we know that the Egyptian nation is the center of revolutionary movement against aggressors and for the liberation of the Arab and Moslem nation. However, it was the Egyptian regime which finally became the center of imperialism. The Arab nations try to isolate Egypt. However, it is the Egyptian regime that should be isolated. The Egyptian nation should take care of its regime as soon as possible, just as the Iranian nation did and took care of its Pharaoh. This man who considers himself a Moslem, but his actions are those of a Pharaoh--demolishing the rights of the Egyptian and Arab nations. This tyrant who promised that he would follow Abdol Naser's policy and turn Egypt into one of the countries with no commitments proved the contrary and on the first occasion joined such countries.

With our full force and as much as possible we extend our helping hand to the people of Palestine and any other oppressed nation, first to the Iranians, then the oppressed Arabs and Moslems who are under governments which rule them unjustly.

In another part of his speech, Ayatollah Taleqani indicated: "The people of Palestine and Al Fatah Organization can save the oppressed Arab nations who are under regimes that are not national. It is 30 years now that Palestine has been occupied and the Palestinian nation has been under the worst living conditions. In Iran we did not dare talk about Palestine. However, now we are together and hopefully we will liberate Palestine. We expect our youth to get more familiar with Palestinian issues and to improve their relations. Iran's revolution will always come to the aid of the oppressed in the world for their rights and victory."

After Ayatollah Taleqani, some other speeches were delivered. Political and cultural organizations and societies sent messages of correlation supporting the rightful struggles of Palestinians. Because there were too many messages, only the names of those who had sent the messages were read.

Student communities, Teacher's College, University of Industry and Science, Tehran University, Sharif Industrial University, the Military Academy, Teachers' Independent Center, Pioneer Teachers and Students, Iran's Mujahedin Khalq Organization, Fedayin Guerrilla Organization, Revolutionary



Women's Union, Kurdistan Democratic Party, Islamic Revolutionary Mujahedin, Minu Industrial Group as well as the ambassadors, representatives, and charge d'affairs of the following countries: Libya, Morocco, Iraq, Yemen, Syria, Lebanon, Korea, Yugoslavia, Saudi Arabia, Jordan, Bulgaria, Tunisia, China and Pakistan.

The ceremonies ended by walking around Tehran University.

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CSO: 4906

SUPPORT FOR SHARI'ATMADARI DETAILED

Tehran ETTELA'AT in Persian 26 Apr 79 p 7

[Text] Their holiness Shirazi and Tabataba'i Qomi have sent telegrams to the city of Qom regarding Ayatollah Khalkhali's article. As of yesterday, Mashhad's religious school has been closed as a sign of protest to Khalkhali's article.

Ayatollah Shirazi's telegram is as follows:

Qom--The Great Ayatollah Shari'atmadari--after extending my greetings I was deeply sorry for what was published in certain newspapers charging Iran's Moslem People's Islamic Republican Party with a fault. The party which had been confirmed by you and therefore it is an insult to your excellency.

It is surprising that some of the writers and owners of publications publish such articles which insult the holy clergymen, religious men the sources of religious emulation and cause disunity among moslems and the whole nation. Especially at this critical time, they should publish articles which advise unity and togetherness.

At the end I beg God to help you serve Islam and Moslems. May Peace Be Upon You. Holy Mashad--Seyyed Abdollah Shirazi--26 Jamadi ol Aval 1399.

Ayatollah Qomi's Message

The content of the great Ayatollah Tabataba'i Qomi's telegram is as follows: Qom--His Excellency Ayatollah Shari'atmadari. The insult and rudeness directed to your position has made us severely worried and sorry.

For this reason, the closing of the religious school was ordered. Other proper actions will be taken upon your decision.

Holy Mashhad--Al Qomi

#### Tabriz--ETTELA'AT Correspondent

Groups of students and university teachers of Tabriz University as well as the police personnel of the Islamic Republic demonstrated against Seyyed Sadeq Khalkhali's article published in ETTALA'AT.

The demonstrators also expressed their support for Ayatollah Shari'atmadari and demanded banishing those who cause disunity.

#### Departure of ETTALA'AT Supervisor

Following the publishing of Khalkhali's article Ali Nikrafter, who is in charge of ETTALA'AT in Azarbaijan and Asqar Athari ETTALA'AT reporter in Tabriz left for Tehran in order to express the feelings of Azarbaijan's people against publishing such an article which causes disunity. They held discussions with ETTALA'AT authorities in defending the logical demands of the people of Tabriz and other cities of Azarbaijan.

#### Ayatollah Hoka Abadi's Statement

Ayatollah Hoka Abadi issued a statement indicating that those who want to cause disunity among the source of (religious) emulation are unaware of the fact that Ayatollah Khomeyni and Ayatollah Shari'atmadari have proven to the world with their acts that they are like one soul in two bodies.

The people of Tabriz and its suburbs have demonstrated and asked for the prosecution of such corrupt individuals. For this reason, Ayatollah Shari'atmadari has expressed his gratitude to the brave and religious people of Azarbaijan and has asked me to tell the people open the markets, stores, schools, universities, offices and companies throughout Azarbaijan and go back to work.

#### Personal View

Ayatollah Abdolmajid Sharbiyani told an ETTALA'AT reporter in Tabriz: A statement was also published from Imam Khomeyni's office which indicates that in the investigations it was clarified that Sheykh Sadeq Khalkhali had expressed his own personal view.

He added: It should be clarified for the people that there is no difference among the sources of religious emulation and on behalf of the people of Azarbaijan I demand to immediately investigate this article and the person who wrote it.

#### They Must Be Stopped

Ayatollah Haj Abdolmajid Va'izi also said: Unfortunately Sheykh Sadeq Khalkhali tries to create unpleasant events by writing this article. However, the people of Azarbaijan find it necessary to have unity among all

sources of religious emulation. If we have two Islamic parties and they are both religious. If one is to criticize a party it is better to criticize a non-religious party. Constructive criticism of non-religious parties, will lead to people's success and progress of the country.

He added: The press is asked to be careful and not to publish such articles.

#### In Other Cities

Also in the cities of Ahar, Sarab, Ajab Shir, Maragheh and Meshgin Shahr people from different classes of society demonstrated by closing their businesses and announced their support of Ayatollah Shari'atmadari. They called for an investigation and exposure of those elements who cause disunity in Iran.

The Islamic Revolutionary Central Council of Iran's Tractor Factory in Tabriz also made a statement and condemned such schisms.

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## IRAN

### PURGE OF 'KEYHAN' DESCRIBED

Tehran KEYHAN in Persian 15 May 79 p 1

[Text] For some time this issue was delayed. Some 2 months ago the leader of the Revolution asked the press to purge itself, in other words, to write freely and thoroughly considering the new course of the freedom of the press within the path of the Revolution and the aspirations of the revolutionary people of Iran. Unfortunately, some members of KEYHAN's editorial board had overlooked the Imam's advice and guidance.

The day before yesterday KEYHAN's personnel protested for the nth time the modus operandi of a small group within the editorial board and, for 3 hours, halted all work. Such an action reflects the fundamental and indisputable fact of today's Iranian revolutionary society which can no longer ignore people's aspirations by putting up with the trickeries of the pen prevailing during the stifling repression and tyranny of the former Shah. On the heels of this protest, the first phase of KEYHAN's purge took place and some members of the editorial board were purged.

This action by KEYHAN personnel was, in fact, an ultimatum on the part of the quasi-unanimous majority of KEYHAN personnel (which represents a slice of the Iranian society) to the executives of the editorial board who have not yet shed their ideological carapace and pecking order. The protesters who had deplored the lack of revolutionary spirit and the publication of provocative, antirevolutionary, and antinational issues, unanimously declared that they would no longer put up with such a state of affairs, and insistently demanded the breakup of the unholy alliance of leftists, antirevolutionaries, and agents of the decadent Shah regime, so that KEYHAN which, during the revolutionary period, had mirrored revolutionary movements and upheavals, in a period when the Revolution has materialized, also reflects the progressive ideas and developments of the present day, instead of being the loudspeaker for the rotten statements and opinions of seditionaries, dissenters, and henchmen of the bloodstained Shah regime, who have put on a revolutionary garb.



During the period of the Revolution KEYHAN's archives, themselves, attest to the fact that in several sensitive and painful incidents, some reporters, writers, and members of the editorial board, by putting out false and anti-revolutionary reports, such as the Sanandaj and Gonbad incidents, have acted contrary to the spirit of the Revolution and practically and effectively constituted an array of seditionaries and antirevolutionaries fighting the nation.

The action of the majority of KEYHAN personnel aimed at purging such anti-national elements is a reflexion of the revolutionary spirit of KEYHAN's decent Moslem personnel who consider their lot with the people as one, but their lot with some of their associates at the editorial board as different. They have rebelled in order to establish a sound, revolutionary, and expert editorial board.

KEYHAN, while profusely apologizing to the Imam and the revolutionary people of Iran for the irrational modus operandi of some of its employees, carried out excessively and for an unreasonably protracted period of time, compelled its purged personnel to commit themselves from now on to the cause of the Revolution, and continue their services to the press as a free and responsible revolutionary organization.

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## IRAN

### BAZARGAN BORDER EXIT CONDITIONS ANNOUNCED

Tehran ETTELA'AT in Persian 16 May 79 p 2

[Text] In a circular issued by the prime minister's office today, the conditions for leaving the country by means of automobile and passenger buses through Bazargan border was announced. The conditions are as follows:

--Those who intend to travel abroad via Bazargan border by sedan should submit their passports and those of their companions together with a copy of the application form (sample) and two pictures to the Iranian Automobile Club and Tourist Center located at 37 Varzesh Avenue, north of Park-e Shahr.

--The driver does not have the right to pick up additional passengers in the origin or enroute other than those whom he has already introduced.

--The owner or driver will have full responsibility for the whole cargo, luggages, and belongings in the car according to what he has filled out in the application form. He will be held responsible if objects other than what he has mentioned are found in the car by the inspection and control unit.

--Permission for using the temporary exit permit is valid only for 5 days. If the owner, driver and passengers who have submitted their names do not leave the country within that period of time, the permission will automatically be canceled and they should resubmit another application for leaving the country.

Inspection will include controlling the identity of the passenger(s), the amount of foreign exchange that the passenger is carrying with him, and the amount of goods the export of which are prohibited.

In the meantime, the passengers should declare how much foreign exchange they have and observe the regulations for leaving the country.

## Passenger Buses

All bus transportation companies are required to present the list of their passengers together with their passports, application form and two pictures to government representatives stationed at International Transportation Syndicate.

--All transportation companies should label luggage with the identification of the owners/passengers.

No transportation companies, either domestic or foreign, have the right to pick up additional passengers enroute or those whose identifications have not been submitted. If luggage without labels and concealment devices is found, the bus driver will be held totally responsible and guilty.

--All foreign passengers should declare how much foreign exchange they have at the time of their arrival and also present documents and evidence regarding changes in the amount at the time of their departure.

Inspection will include controlling the identity of passenger(s), the amount of foreign exchange with them as well as the types and quantities of goods the export of which are prohibited.

The identifications of the bus and the driver as well as the documents should be submitted to government representatives stationed at the syndicate of the International Transportation Companies 3 days prior to departure. (Holidays are not included.)

All passengers leaving the country through Bazargan border have been asked to buy their authorized amount of foreign exchange prior to delivering their passports and to observe the customs and foreign exchange regulations for their own comfort in order not to face any problems.

All above regulations are in effect only for those passengers who are not prohibited from leaving the country. Violators who disobey the regulations will be turned over to the revolutionary court.

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## LAWYERS TO BE PERMITTED FOR DEFENDANTS

Tehran ETTELA'AT in Persian 16 May 79 pp 1, 2

[Text] Imam's recent order is not for the corrupt elements on earth. Only the illegitimate assets of people will be confiscated. Women can also be corrupt elements on earth.

In a press interview, Ayatollah Azari Qomi, the Islamic revolutionary prosecutor, explained important points regarding revolutionary courts and Imam's recent order concerning revolutionary courts and executions.

About Imam's order, Ayatollah Azari Qomi said: "Following the announcement of Imam's order, many rumors were spread around indicating that those who have not been directly involved in killing and torture should not be punished. In his recent order the Imam has not denied what he had previously mentioned about punishment. The main reason the Imam issued his recent order was because there were some rumors here and abroad that some of the executed persons such as Allameh Vahidi were sentenced to death for insulting Imam Khomeyni. The courts have never condemned anyone for such a crime, because the Islamic religious law does not indicate that insulting the Imam or having been a member of the dissolved parliament or the director-general of an office is cause for being condemned to death. Only those who are corrupt elements on earth have been and will be condemned to death. Imam's recent order only applies to specific persons who are not found guilty of being corrupt elements on earth. To consider public interest and to strengthen Iran's Islamic revolution, the order can be considered a pardon for those who are not corrupt elements on earth. Women are also included in this principle."

## Confiscation of Properties/Assets

On confiscating the properties of the condemned, Ayatollah Azari Qomi said: "Not only the assets of those who are condemned to death will be confiscated, but the properties of anyone who has earned his wealth illegally or by usury will be confiscated too, whether he is condemned to death or not, and even if he is not arrested yet. The confiscation procedure will not include the lawful and legal earnings and properties of

people. Only the portion that has been earned unlawfully will be confiscated."

#### Appointing Lawyers

In response to one of the correspondents who asked Ayatollah Azari Qomi why the defendants could not have lawyers, he said: "The court will be happy if a lawyer defends them. However, as such lawyers are disfavored by the people, they are not ready to defend them. If there is a lawyer who is ready to defend the defendants, the court has no objection to that. In Qom there was a lawyer who was defending an accused person. He was faced with such severe objections from the audience that finally with the court's interference, the case was closed. However, after that no lawyer has been ready to defend the cases. The reason for people's objection is quite clear as those who are tried by the revolutionary courts are known to the people and their crimes are clear to the public."

In another part of the interview he said: "The court treats everyone so fairly that if anyone confesses his crime and asks for pardon, the court can pardon him on the condition that the private complainants and in cases of murder the family of the victim give consent and forgive him."

Ayatollah Azari Qomi emphasized that the revolutionary courts will continue their work as before and pointed out: "The judges of the Justice Department have been invited to look into the current cases at the prosecutor's office of the revolutionary court. With their assistance, the cases will be handled more efficiently. As the interview covers other important matters regarding the revolutionary courts, the detailed interview will be published in the next issue."

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TWO WOMEN HIJACKERS ARRESTED

Tehran ETTELA'AT in Persian 26 Apr 79 p 1

[Article: "Terrorists Wanted To Hijack an Airplane by Taking Hostages; Two Women Arrested"]

[Text] Yesterday evening, from 7 p.m. until midnight red alert status warning was in effect at Mehrabad Airport. The armed guards and security officials arrested two women who intended to hijack an aircraft.

Around 7 p.m. yesterday afternoon phone calls were made from some committees in Tehran to Mehrabad Airport indicating that based on obtained information several terrorists are planning to attack the airport lobby and by taking hostages, threaten the aviation authorities with obtaining an aircraft to leave the country. Upon receipt of the information strong security measures were taken by the security officials and guards were stationed at the airport, around the airport, at lobbies, facilities and runways. Immediately all units received red alert warning. Simultaneously all unidentified people in the airport area, lobbies and other facilities were taken under surveillance and security measures were taken to identify the terrorists. Few minutes later, the security officials succeeded in arresting two women wearing black chadors veil who were armed with 45 caliber colts. After preliminary interrogations, and by observing security measures the two women were turned over to one of the revolutionary committees which had for many hours started an extensive search.

After the arrest of the two women who have not yet been identified the emergency warning was continued until 12:00 p.m. But as nothing happened, the situation turned to normal again at the airport.

Investigations are continuing to identify the two arrested armed women in order to determine whether they are connected to other groups or persons.

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# VAST PIOUS LAND SWINDLES UNCOVERED

Tehran ETTELA'AT in Persian 16 May 79 p 7

[Text] The chairman of the inspection delegation assigned to investigate cases of embezzlement in the Pious Organization revealed some more cases. He had previously uncovered and divulged huge amounts of embezzlement in that organization.

Mr Amir Hoseyni, the head of the delegation, explained that some of the pious lands had been put at the disposal of the national and government organizations based on the existing records in order to be used for building public facilities. Although the lands had been turned over to the applicants, most of them had been divided into smaller lots and later sold.

Furthermore, some have assumed ownership of these lands without going through legal formalities.

The chairman of the delegation also revealed that embezzlement of cash donations made to the shrines of offsprings of Imams such as Imamzadeh Abdollah near Amol, Imamzadeh Hashem located enroute Tehran to Amol, etc, are also remarkable. He indicated that by unnecessary costs and expense lists at Imamzadeh Abdollah alone every week 5 million rials, every month 20 million rials and annually 450 million rials were wasted.

This authority added: "In Shiraz some influential people intended to build a small town by getting the pious lands. In the religious atmosphere of Iran, this would have hurt the feelings of the Iranian people. Nevertheless, with this awareness, the responsible authorities of the Pious Organization and the governments of the deposed shah gave over a great portion of these pious lands to them. The chairman also announced that there had been profiteering activities in this respect in Kerman and Rafsanjan, which would shortly be revealed after studying the cases.

He emphasized that in the future the names of those persons who had taken advantage of their position and assumed possession of pious lands that were to be used by the public would be revealed and published. He put the

names of the following group of people at the disposal of the newspaper: General Enayatollah Zofi, 10,000 meters of Karaj pious lands.--General Fardoost and Afshari, 190 hectares of Haj Mostafa Moqadam's pious land in Karaj--Dr Rahmatollah Akhavan, 20 hectares of Karaj pious lands--Hoseyn Farzan-Nezhad, 37 hectares of Karaj pious lands--Mansur Azadeh, 10 hectares of Karaj pious lands--Ali Mohammad A'zami 3 lots, 2,294,070 meters from Abdollah Dara'i's endowed properties, 5,000 meters from Qala' Hasan Khan and 30 hectares of Hayu pious lands.--Mrs Zhilla Khalili Farshchi (the wife of Sarreshtedari) 750 hectares of Mirza Mas'ud Sheykhoh Islami's pious lands in Dolatabad subordinate to Qazvin. Later 400 hectares of the lot was given over to Hozhabr Yazdani at Public Notary No 8 in Qazvin.

Then the chairman of the inspection delegation referred to some pious lands that were either directly or indirectly given over to Hozhabr Yazdani. He pointed out: From Hesam Lashkar's pious lands, lot No 34 in Torshineh totally 91,943 square meters, from Haj Isa Isfahani's pious land, lot No 68 garden and house in Ghar block. From the same pious land on 3-9-49 [24 November 1970] a person called Asadollah Morovati who stood as guarantor for Hoshabr Yazdani has taken possession of 55 hectares of land at Ghar block for Hozhabr.

The chairman then named some wealthy people who have grand capitals of their own and yet have taken possession of pious lands without needing the property as follows: Mahmud Reza Pahlavi, 163 hectares from Ahi Dasht lands in Sari. Habib Elqanian, 30 hectares from the endowed properties at Borghan, Qazvin. The chairman of the delegation explained that despite being a wealthy person, Mahmud Reza Pahlavi owes about 70 million rials in rent money to the Pious Organization for the lands that he has taken possession of. Considering the conditions mentioned in the lease contract, the duration of the lease is over and the lessor has the right to cancel the contract.

About government and national organizations that have taken possession of endowed properties, some of which have later been transferred without the knowledge of the Pious Organization, he announced the following:

--The army and gendarmerie, a great part of "Letman Kan" endowed lands.

--The Radio and Television Station of Tehran, 37 hectares of Moshir Al Saltaneh endowed properties in Shahtareh.

--Upon the request of Lt General Khosrovani, director of Taj Sports Club, 54,000 meters from lot No 299 and 115 of Mofarrah endowed properties on 25-3-35 [15 June 1956] and 10,000 meters from Narmak endowed properties and 3 lots from endowed properties in Zargandeh totalling to 25,000 square meters.

--Cooperative Housing company of Tourist Organization, various lots from Letman Kan endowed properties.

The chairman of the inspection delegation also announced that thousands of cases are being studied and simultaneously arrangements are being made to receive the delayed rents from those who have taken the lands into their possession and to take action in canceling the lease of those who have made personal uses of the properties and if necessary to renew the lease contracts.

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# ISLAMIC BANK CAPITAL INCREASED

Tehran ETTELA'AT in Persian 28 Apr 79 p 7

[Text] Yesterday a mutual meeting was held between the founders of Iran's Islamic Bank which is about to be established and the representatives of the Interest Free Loan funds from all over the country. The meeting was held at Iran's Chamber of Commerce, Industries and Mines.

The meeting started by reading some verses from the Koran. Ayatollah Dr Seyyed Mohammad Beheshti started his statements by saying: Although we lived in an Islamic country in the past, our economic and trade regulations were against Islam. A great number of hard working people lived in poverty and injustice. However, we should know that the Islamic revolution will put an end to all anti-Islamic fantasies.

By referring to the nature of operations at the Islamic Bank, Dr Beheshti said: Unlawful profit is forbidden in Islam and it cannot be considered lawful with any trick. However, interest is different from some aspects from unlawful profit and we can say that it is even against unlawful profit. We should not think that the European and American banking system is the only existing system in the world. We should say that with the Islamic economic system and principle a bank can be established not on the bases of unlawful profit but on getting commissions and by presenting a practical solution, it can prove this and be a fruitful source for society.

Mr Taqi Khamushi member of the board of founders of the Islamic Bank and one of the founders of the Interest Free Loan Funds in Iran said: Our dream was to establish an Islamic bank in the country to continue working without unlawful profit. If the realization of such a dream was impossible in the past, today it has come true, and we can practically turn the attention of the world's monetary system towards ourselves. We know that the Islamic economic system is based on forbidding unlawful profit and we who are pioneers in establishing an Islamic bank shouldn't just talk but take action. It will of course require sufficient time to change the banking system from gaining unlawful profits to a non-interest system. He added: The Islamic bank which is one of the manifestations of Iran's revolution can in the near future become the axis of the country's economic activities, and the foundations of the bank are in reality the same Interest Free Loan



Funds. After achieving victory in the revolution, as soon as Imam Khomeyni heard of the plan of establishing an Islamic bank, he became very happy and said that it is very essential and necessary to implement the plan as soon as possible to help the deprived and the poor.

Taqi Khamushi added: At present the capital sum of the Islamic Bank is 2 billion rials 60 percent of which has been provided by the 35 members of the board of founders. The members of the board of directors of Interest Free Loan Funds throughout the country have asked to purchase the balance which is 800 million rials. Unfortunately it is against the regulations of the public companies to do so and the shares should be presented to the public. As there is more demand than the anticipated number, the capital sum may increase even to 10 billion rials. In the end he said: Granting permission for establishing the Islamic Bank is on the final stages at the Central Bank. As soon as permission is granted, the shares will be offered and I think that within the next couple of weeks the Central branch of this bank will start to work in Iran.

#### Housing Loan

In the meeting held by the responsible officials of the country's Interest Free Loan Funds, the economic advisers of Iran's Islamic Bank announced that the bank will give loans to those who need a housing loan without receiving interest (unlawful profit).

At present there are 1,002 Interest Free Loan Funds throughout the country that are giving loans for weddings, doweries, to needy people for livelihood, as well as students who need such loans. This bank will give two types of loans: one production loan to help the domestic industries; and the other consumer's loan which will be paid to needy people. At the end he told our correspondent: By following the policy of Iran's Islamic Bank other banks will be bound to implement their operations in the same manner by omitting loan interests and only receiving commission for running the bank.

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CSO: 4906

## WAYS TO SOLVE SOCIAL PROBLEMS OF KIBBUTZIM DISCUSSED

Tel Aviv DAVAR in Hebrew 18 May 79 p 18

[Article by Arnon Magen : "Kibbutz on the Psychiatrist's Couch"]

[Text] In recent years, kibbutzim have been trying to solve crises and problems in a systematic way.

It can be said without exaggeration that with the establishment of the first kibbutz, what are called in kibbutz lingo "social problems" were also born. These continue to accompany kibbutzim until today. These are problems the likes of which are found only in a society living a collective life, and they tend to find expression in a thousand and one ways: in the unwillingness of members to bear the burden of public responsibilities; in mass absence from the weekly kibbutz discussions; in tensions between the stratum of old-timers who are experienced but, at times, conservative and the younger stratum; in the massive exodus of children; in arguments between the different branches and among themselves; in a defective work regime; and much more. To be sure, there is almost no kibbutz that has not had a taste now or during its history of some of these problems. Similarly, there are very few kibbutzim which have experienced the combination of all of these problems as a regular phenomenon to the point of being severely weakened, of total breakup and replacement of all the members and their children with a new layer of residents.

Alongside the attempts of every kibbutz to tackle its social problems by its own efforts, the social division (or the social committee) which is on hand in all of the kibbutz streams tries to help. In recent years, these departments have undergone a process which can be described as "academicization" or "professionalization." The Union of Kibbutzim and Cooperatives, the National Kibbutz and the United Kibbutz began a few years ago to train individual and community social workers, sociologists, psychologists and experts in the behavioral sciences within the framework of regular studies in institutions of higher learning as well as in settings specifically geared for kibbutz members in Rupin Academy and at Ben Gurion University in Be'er Sheva. Some of these people are "drafted" for the social departments of the kibbutz movements and work on their behalf in kibbutzim in three circuits.

The coordinator of the social division of the National Kibbutz, Jacob ("Palo") Shelach, a member of kibbutz Gan Shmuel, explains that within the division there is a section for the behavioral sciences consisting of seven or eight members. For four of these, this is their only work, and the majority have received 2 and a half years of training. About 3 years ago the members of this section began to do community social work in several kibbutzim, usually in the region where they lived but not, of course, in their own kibbutz. The person comes to the kibbutz one day a week and, in a special room, receives various members and discusses with them the faulty relationships between themselves and the kibbutz institutions--the secretariat, the work branch, this or that committee. Success, says Palo, has been complete. Among other things, its value lies in the fact that it substantially reduces the burden placed on those bearing responsibilities--the secretary, the coordinator of the local committee of members, coordinator of the branch, even the job organizer--and allows them to devote their best energies and time to dealing with kibbutz-wide problems within the scope of their job. Till now such an activity has been carried out by 16 kibbutzim of "Shomer Hatzair," most of them veterans and established--veterans because some of the difficult problems are peculiar to older members, and established in order to assure success from the outset of the activity. Over time, however, efforts have been directed at less senior and less established kibbutzim. This year the activity was carried out in four kibbutzim: Sarid, more than 50 years old, and Megiddo, Metsar and Nachshonim, which are 29-30 years old.

Along with and even preceding this activity which can be described as individualized, the social division of the National Kibbutz has been involved for 6 or 7 years in community care for a complete branch, institution and the like. For example, when working relationships are objected to among the farm workers in one of the kibbutzim--in contrast to a situation of a single worker such as one of the old-timers in the branch who is unable to find a place for himself with the other workers, who are all young and who has a hard time adapting to the new systems of work--the department members call a meeting of all the workers in that branch and try to clear up the problems together. It would be handled similarly if the secretariat or a kibbutz committee is not functioning up to par. Such a process has been applied till now in 30 or 40 kibbutzim, approximately half of the "Shomer Hatzair" kibbutzim.

#### From Diagnosis to Treatment

An additional step from the individual to the collective was taken 4 or 5 years ago by Palo himself in the context of an innovation introduced by the National Kibbutz: care of an entire kibbutz. This was a kibbutz about 30 years old with only about 50 members at that time. The project lasted about 2 years, but it was very praiseworthy when judged by numbers of members. At present, the kibbutz has 100 members and an additional 60 candidates for membership.

In the wake of this sporadic experience, a systematic approach to dealing with kibbutzim in crisis crystallized a year ago--especially with regard to "middle-aged" kibbutzim, about 30 years old, whose member population has frozen and

which is lacking the middle stratum between the veteran generation and their children. This is one of the problems characterizing many kibbutzim of this age.

How is this action carried out? First--there is the diagnosis. It is done by one of the people from the Institute for the study of the kibbutz next to the University of Haifa. The person--who is, of course, a kibbutznik himself--visits the "patient" and conducts personal interviews lasting from 1 to 3 hours with about one-fifth of the members of the kibbutz who are said to be representative of the general kibbutz population with respect to age, sex, work, etc. Following the diagnostic period, which lasts about 2 months, a written report is compiled and gone over with 20 members of that kibbutz. A common reaction, Palo describes, is: The analysis is too sharp. In one of the kibbutzim the reaction to the report was so strong that the project had to be stopped for 4 months. This, however, was an unusual occurrence. In the next stage, the report is circulated among all the kibbutz members, at times after revisions have been made. In the final stage of the diagnosis, a discussion open to all the members is carried on.

After the diagnosis, "therapy" begins. At one level, detailed discussions are held in circles of 10 to 15 members about those problems which have been recognized as especially acute--for example: the deprivation of a stratum of members on the kibbutz; the uprising of a large portion of the members with respect to norms which have been shaped by one group, usually the old-timers who continue to rule the roost; the existence of a dominant branch on the kibbutz which overshadows all the other branches and along merits encouragement; and on and on. At a second level, concrete decisions are considered first in the small circles and later in kibbutz-wide discussions.

Here are examples of such decisions. In one of the small kibbutzim, there was what is called a "demographic hole." It was decided to "plug" it by absorbing families from outside by means of a strong absorption effort. In another kibbutz, there was a great deal of rotation of members among the various branches. It was decided to stabilize organized and consistent work crews. In answer to the question whether such a basic and professional piece of work is necessary to diagnose defects and make decisions such as these, which seem simple and understandable to anyone who is somewhat familiar with kibbutz life, Palo answered: "We are not pretending to discover America. Every kibbutz knows more or less what is bothering it, but, generally, it is absorbed in dealing with everyday concerns. We force them to get to the root of the problems, to clarify them in a deep and basic way and to find solutions for them."

This undertaking of dealing with the kibbutz as a whole--perhaps not on the psychiatrist's couch but on the desk of the social psychologist, the sociologist, the behavioral scientist--is only at its inception. Thus far, the project has been completed on three kibbutzim, and in two additional kibbutzim the defects were diagnosed and appropriate decisions were accepted, but they were not able to carry them out. These are "tired" kibbutzim, said Palo, whose stratum of active people is narrow, and they pull the load all the time without pause.

Meanwhile, the social division of the National Kibbutz has decided to continue this work and to extend it to kibbutzim considered to be flourishing. It is especially kibbutzim like these who feel motivated, at times, more than other kibbutzim, to "improve" even more. Paradoxically, at times, their very high level is an impediment, for it is because of it that they have difficulty absorbing new members and fitting them in to the older membership. We have learned that there is no kibbutz which does not have to examine itself from time to time and probe its own character.

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CSU: 4805



## CROWN PRINCE DISCUSSES MIDDLE EAST QUESTION

Munich SUEDEDEUTSCHE ZEITUNG in German 6 Jun 79 pp 34-35

[Interview with Jordanian Crown Prince Hasan ibn Talal by SUEDEDEUTSCHE ZEITUNG correspondent Carl E. Buchalla: "We Encouraged Every Peace Initiative"; date and place not given]

[Text] Hasan ibn Talal is the youngest brother of King Hussein of Jordan. He was born in Amman on 20 March 1947. After attending schools in Amman, Summerfield (England) and Harrow, he studied history and political science in Oxford. While still a student, he was named crown prince on 9 April 1965. Crown Prince Hasan is occupied particularly with questions of economic planning and is considered the mainspring of the development of Jordan in the past few years. For some time, however, the crown prince has also been dealing increasingly with political questions, particularly with the question of the Palestinians--so extraordinarily important especially for Jordan--about which Hasan has published several papers and delivered lectures before international bodies. He acts as regent in the absence of King Hussein. Since 1969 Hasan has been married to Princess Sarvath, a native Pakistani. The couple has three daughters and one son.

Question: Your Royal Highness, like most Arab states, Jordan rejected the Camp David agreements and the Egyptian-Israeli peace treaty because it failed to offer a basis for a comprehensive Middle East solution. Is there still any chance at all of Jordan entering the process of negotiation? And, if so, what are the prerequisites?

Answer: For a start I would like to qualify the term rejection. The fact is that since 1967 Jordan has actively participated in all aspects of the U.S. search for peace, including the drafting of Resolution 242 of the UN Security Council, which indeed theoretically was the basis for all subsequent peace initiatives. In this sense Jordan considers the development emanating from Camp David a further phase. The question is whether or not

this phase offers the necessary continuity. As you know, Camp David abruptly removed the process of the search for peace from Geneva, where the Soviet Union was cochairman (in addition to the United States) and had a clearly outlined role in this process. Now, we do not expect Camp David simply again to return to the Geneva context, because, quite naturally, a certain U.S. success is apparent as a result of the tripartite relations between Egypt, Israel and the United States in the past few months. Political courtesies have been exchanged between the three capitals, and concessions made. Basically we are of the opinion that the extreme point of flexibility has already been reached as far as possible political concessions are concerned, particularly on the part of the United States, which at present is entering an election year. For this reason the U.S. Government will now find it very hard to concentrate on the principal points--the West Bank and its occupation.

Thus it is not really a question of our rejecting the process of peace. We encouraged every initiative toward a peace, even Camp David, in the previous phase, when President Sadat visited the Knesset. We welcomed that journey as a courageous action but remained skeptical. Not having been consulted either about the preparations for Camp David or about the trip to the Knesset, we were unable to take a position on something of which we were not aware. But the sad thing is that since Camp David the unknown factors have increased and that since Camp David we have realized that the three parties signed three different interpretations. In all this the Israelis were of course the most important factor, because they occupy the land. They made sure that all their concessions essentially were limited to the Sinai--and, as far as we are concerned, the Sinai is an uninhabited piece of sandy desert. Maybe for Egypt and Israel the Sinai is of strategic importance, of importance in respect of the petroleum in the Sinai desert, of importance in regard to the opening of the Suez Canal. All these aspects were also aspects of the Arab negotiating position and in the past were closely tied to Jerusalem and the occupied territories.

Today, however, the useful Egyptian participation in the search for a comprehensive peace solution has come to an abrupt halt. The main responsibility now rests with Jordan, Syria, Lebanon, the countries neighboring on the immediate problems--and of course also with the Palestinian people.

Question: You mention the Palestinian people, Highness. What do you think of Israel's readiness to negotiate about the self-administration of the Palestinians in occupied western Jordan and in the Gaza Strip?

Answer: We have the feeling that the plans for a limited autonomy now submitted by Israel are determined by a demographic fear. The Israelis are afraid that the 3 million Jews of the coastal strip numerically would be swamped at once if they were to live with open borders and free access to the West Bank and the East Bank, regardless of what the political development on the West Bank might look like. One need only add up the Arabs of Nazareth, the West Bank and the East Bank; the result is a ratio of 55 percent Arabs to 45 percent Jews. We therefore believe that the assent to a

limited autonomy is merely a tactical and superficial contribution for the international media, among which Israel wants to create the impression that it is contributing to peace. What the Israelis are doing actually is only reorganizing the occupation in the occupied territories. They are planning the creation of one "Bantustan" in the north of the West Bank and another in the south of the West Bank, and they are excluding Jerusalem completely from a settlement. In their interpretation, Jerusalem changes from a "corpus separatum" within the old city walls all the way to an interpretation including one-fifth of the whole West Bank territory. The invitation addressed to us after Camp David to participate in the negotiations and (while the Israeli occupation continues to be maintained) to assume the role of policeman on the West Bank is not only humiliating; to honor it would also rob us of our credibility.

It has been and always will remain our position--and, if you will, these are also our prerequisites--that a plebiscite must be conducted on the West Bank, that there should be a natural development there, a suitable period of transition, preferably under trusteeship of the United Nations, during which the West Bank becomes again what it used to be--a viable entity. Seeing the changes today, having to look on as, despite Camp David, the dynamics of the occupation continue, we just find it impossible to maintain that this "peace process" is convincing. On the contrary, it is fairly dangerous.

Question: What might be an initial position for new negotiations about a comprehensive Middle East settlement after Camp David? A return to Geneva? The UN Security Council, or something else? Disregarding the now beginning Egyptian-Israeli autonomy negotiations, where might there be a new starting point for the Arab states?

Answer: If you take a careful look at the Camp David documents, you will find that in 5 years the process initiated at Camp David is to be ratified by the UN Security Council. We wonder how this is to come about. Surely the United States is not simply speculating that within these 5 years there will be a change in Israeli governments or a different prime minister, for reasons of age or for other reasons. Surely there has to be something else, some bit of truth in support of the announcement that the international community, represented by the Security Council, will ratify a comprehensive peace settlement, a settlement which, in our opinion, need not be acceptable to absolutely everyone, need not be perfect, but at least must be just in everyone's eyes. This element of fairness and of the comprehensive settlement, in our opinion, cannot be realized solely by the three parties directly bound to the Camp David agreements, because these agreements set priorities moving at present toward a quick conclusion but running parallel to the actual problems. And, to remain with the image of parallelism: what we want is not an "either or" Camp David but perhaps an "either and" Camp David. Because a development is needed which permits the saving of face.

Question: And what could be the basis for this "either and"? Where could there be a meeting point, and on what basis?

Answer: We really hold the view that the UN Security Council could be such a vehicle. At present an investigating committee of the Security Council is here, on the basis of Resolution 446, to gather data about Israeli practices on the West Bank and to submit the result to the Security Council by 1 July. It is sad that Israel did not allow the committee to visit the occupied territories.

We expect such international activities to continue. The European Community in its declaration of 26 March 1979, in my opinion, expressed a certain concern about future developments. On the one hand it welcomes the initiative (of Camp David), but at the same time it voices the hope that it may lead to a comprehensive solution.

Question: Please excuse my interrupting. What possibility do you see for the European Community to participate in the peace process?

Answer: There is no group of countries that stands to lose more as a result of a new war in the Middle East. I believe that the role being played by some European states in maintaining peace in Lebanon is an honest contribution. But I also believe that this role ought to be made clearer in the form of a political contribution.

Question: Which has been lacking so far?

Answer: Which has been lacking so far. The reason being that, since the Kissinger initiative, there has been an established traditional U.S. position in the past few years to the effect that to make peace in the Middle East is a U.S. privilege. We think that in addition to this initiative, in the event that it decreases at present, it is necessary to maintain continuity and to proceed in parallel. As I have said earlier, it could be the UN Security Council or a "committee of wise men" composed of personages from Europe and elsewhere acceptable to all concerned.

Question: Everyone, including Israel, concedes that the question of the Palestinians is the core of the problem. In Jordan more than half of the population are Palestinians. Does Jordan feel a special responsibility toward the Palestinians notwithstanding the fact that Jordan too at the Arab summit conference of Rabat in 1974 recognized the Palestinian Liberation Organization (PLO) as the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people?

Answer: According to international law, the West Bank is Jordanian territory with a civilian administration that continues to function. When it became a member of the United Nations in 1955, the Hashimite Kingdom of Jordan comprised the eastern and western shore of the Jordan. The occupation took place during this legal situation. The amount of about 1 billion

dollars which we have given since 1967 for refugees or in direct aid via the open bridges to towns and communities of the West Bank was motivated by our concern that unless a window was kept open to the East Bank, the West Bank would become completely dependent on Israel.

Question: After Camp David, a conciliation occurred between King Hussein and Yasir Arafat, between Jordan and the PLO. Two recently reported attacks by Palestinian guerrillas across the Jordan resulted in Israeli threats against Jordan. Could it be that these two incidents were a hint that Jordan in the future will tolerate Palestinian guerrilla attacks against Israel across the Jordan?

Answer: It would be suicidal for Jordan to tolerate any sort of armed activity against a country which in the region today has the most tanks as well as nuclear weapons--a country whose generals and strategic leadership (Dayan, Sharon, Eitan, Begin, Weizman--all military people) have always measured their contribution to security and stability in the region by how effectively they could employ military strength and by their potential for killing Arabs. Egypt cannot be counted on any longer. But even if Egypt were still included strategically, today's Arabs would be no obstacle for Israel until 1985. It would be a direct invitation to Israel presumably to change the map of this region. But if the Israelis should proceed to interpret such actions the same way as they generally took advantage of the situation in southern Lebanon, we feel that it is a strategy which they will pursue further in the coming months. Of course there is extremism in this region; it exists on the Arab side, and it exists on the Israeli side. We hope it will not come to a clash to justify a new war.

Question: You mentioned southern Lebanon. Do you consider it possible that in view of the tense situation, in view of the proclamation of a Christian mini state by Israel-supported Major Haddad, a new Middle East war might start there?

Answer: If you take into account the mini entities being proposed by Israel--Judea and Samaria--and in addition the tense situation of the Arabs in the area of Nazareth, where land and property continue to be confiscated, and then Haddad's mini state as another tiny "Bantustan" right at the Israeli border, I think that what Israel is preparing there is the creation of a Balkanized Middle East. It is not only an invitation to war; it might become a war which would split up or destabilize states such as Lebanon, Syria and possibly also Jordan to a point where Israel--a numerical minority on the coastal strip--would become a sort of "minority *primus inter pares*" in this region.

Question: A majority of Arab states decided on sanctions against Egypt because Sadat had signed the peace treaty with Israel. Where is this concerted boycott to lead to? Is it only a punitive measure? Does one think that it could really induce Sadat to make a policy change? Or is it meant to cause unrest, demonstrations, an uprising in Egypt, and finally the overthrow of Sadat, for which several Arab leaders have called already?



Answer: I think all these elements that you are enumerating exist in the realm of imagination of the Arab states. It goes without saying that the Baghdad conference represents a broad spectrum of Arab opinion, of states which assembled in order to agree on principles in connection with Egypt's separate peace. The most extreme voices in this spectrum are those of the people affected most directly. These are above all the Palestinians. They see no future for themselves in the current peace initiative and--that is, the PLO did--demanded the most comprehensive sanctions and the strongest condemnation of Egypt, for understandable emotional as well as political reasons.

In his treatment of other Arab states, President Sadat showed a certain lack of realism and arrogance and directed personal attacks against most of the Arab leaders participating in the Baghdad meeting. In this rather tense situation, therefore, a certain anti-Egyptian fervor is quite understandable, although the Arab world is not out to hit the Egyptian people.

But I think it is necessary to make one thing clear to Egypt: if it plans to become a part of a new polarized concord comprising Cairo and Tel Aviv, it is quite consciously leaving this region and will have to see to its own formula of mutual dependence.

Question: In the past few years Jordan has universally been recognized as an "island of political and economic stability" in the unstable Middle East. In the last few weeks there appeared reports in certain Beirut papers, but also in the Western press, about Palestinian demonstrations at the University of Amman, about arrests and also about certain differences of opinion between King Hussein and you, the crown prince. Could you comment on this?

Answer: As you have been to see for yourself, the situation in Jordan is normal. As for demonstrations at universities, they occur everywhere in the world without right away endangering the countries' economic and political stability.

It was amusing to read a report in one of the leading Western papers--I think it was the HERALD TRIBUNE--that Jordan should not be excluded from the peace process, while, on the other hand, a correspondent reported from Tel Aviv about alleged differences of opinion between my brother and me of which I am simply not aware.

A country like Jordan, whose credibility invariably rests on the fact that we fought, that we lost territories, that we talk reasonably--this credibility cannot be destroyed by a direct confrontation in a logical dialog. But it can be shaken if the impression is created that we might change fronts or embark on an extreme course.

In the more than 26 years of rule of his majesty (King Hussein) we have had continuity. It patently affects the psychology of a people. We realize



that such fabricated reports and rumors often are manufactured or fostered by certain departments of Israeli intelligence.

Question: A kind of propaganda war, then?

Answer: Exactly. Part of a propaganda war with the declared aim of strengthening Israel's reputation and credibility in the Western world, while at the same time an attempt is being made to lessen the reputation of other pro-Western states in the region.

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CSO: 4403

## LEBANON

### CLASHES BETWEEN PHALANGES AND NATIONAL LIBERAL PARTIES ANALYZED

Beirut AL-HURRIYAH in Arabic 21 May 79 p 12

[Article: "Disagreements Over Saudi Money and Israeli Weapons Deals"]

[Text] The battles between the Phalangist and National Liberal parties in the Furn al-Shubbak/'Ain al-Rummanah/al-Tahwitah triangle resulted in 32 dead and 68 wounded on both sides.

Clashes began Thursday night and extended through Tuesday morning, following the murder of two members of the Phalanges in al-Tahwitah district and the imputation of the murder to the Liberals.

Clashes continued despite all meetings, intercessions and mediations, until the [Lebanese] Front, in its meeting at Dayr 'Awkar, proclaimed the union of both parties in order to control the situation and as an internal confession of the failure of their leaders to stop the bloody battles.

Sources say that the declaration of union is just a temporary formality and would not last long due to the sharp rivalry between the two sides and the refusal of either side to share with the other a percentage of profits from thefts, middleman services, smuggling, hashish trade, extortions, and campaigns for donations and taxes.

#### The Disagreements Are Old

Disagreements between the Phalangists and National Liberals in the Furn al-Shubbak/'Ain al-Rummanah/al-Tahwitah triangle go back to the days of the Fayyadiyah clashes with the Arab Peace-Keeping Forces in 1977. During that time, (Lund) happened to be passing through Furn al-Shubbak district, where he was beaten up by armed elements. Two Phalangists, Marun Mughazzal and his brother Joseph, the Phalangist military leader in Furn al-Shubbak, were accused of perpetrating the incident.

Pierre al-Junayyil asked Marun to turn himself over to the authorities, but Marun fled and appealed to Chamoun, who turned him in after he was promised his release in 12 days.

In fact, after that short period of time, Dani Chamoun contacted the leader of the Arab Peace-Keeping Forces, Sami al-Khatib, and the army commander, Victor Khuri, and requested Marun Maghazzal's release, which was granted.

At that time, Marun and Joseph Mughazzal and their followers joined the National Liberal Party, which gave Camille Chamoun additional weight in Furn al-Shubbak, tipping the scales in favor of his party over the Phalangist Party.

An organized force was formed in Furnal-Shubbak, under the leadership of the National Liberal Party, headed by military combat leaders including Marun and Joseph Mughazzal, Atilio Daw (a well-known wrestler), and Raymond 'Awn of Damur (nicknames "al-Zaghlul"). At the same time, there was a political and organizational disagreement between Bashir al-Jumayyil and a member of the Phalangist Party Council, reflecting the party's status in the southern coastal district where many military cadres left the Phalangist Party and joined the National Liberal Party.

This increased the power of the tiger brigade of the National Liberal Party at the Phalangist Party's expense. Chamoun in turn reorganized his party in the district, appointing George A'raj (nicknamed "Kojak") as military commander for the tiger brigade in 'Ain al-Rummanah/Furn al-Shubbak, and John Ni'mah as a district military commander.

At the same time, Chamoun won Elias Hunnush (al-Hanash) and his group over to his side, which helped him tighten his grip over the Furn al-Shubbak/'Ain al-Rummanah/al-Tahwitah triangle. This resulted in a weakening of the Phalangist Party, which was suffering an internal crisis in this district, and found itself obliged to seek the help of Diab Yunis, a lawyer from Iannurin, and appoint him as political chief in Furn al-Shubbak district, while Adel Asmar and Naji Butrus were made responsible for the military wing in the area.

Accompanying all these political and military shifts was a frightful atmosphere of organized and random extortion, in addition to smuggling, hashish use, gambling, theft and daily assaults.

In early June, clashes occurred between the two parties which resulted in three dead, coming to a sudden halt after the Ihdin massacre in 1978.

The clashes took the form of deliberate liquidations after 1 week of massacres by the Phalangist Party, including the killing of Atilio Daw, Marun Mughazzal, and Joseph Hunnush (Elias Hunnush's brother), as well as Abu al-Ghadab, the National Liberal Party's chief in Juniyah.

#### The Most Recent Eruption

The most recent eruption stems from direct and indirect causes. The public in that district was disgusted by and complaining of the atmosphere of

extortion, hashish use, theft and assault. Further, the continuing daily clashes on the Shiyah/ Ain al-Rummanah front resulted in stoppage of business, closing down of enterprises, bankruptcies, and increased political disputes among the Lebanese Front parties. The increased rivalry among parties to control the district paralyzed commercial enterprises and created a condition of total collapse. These problems were magnified by attempts by the Phalangist Party to extend authority by occupying all the other neutral and allied territories, with the aim of imposing one-party rule as had been attempted in Jubayl, Zaghayta and Burj Hammud.

Perhaps the most important factor in the renewal of the clashes between the two parties is disputes between the extreme wings of the Phalangist and National Liberal parties, headed by Camille Chamoun and Bashir al-Jumayyil.

The basis of the disputes between Chamoun and al-Jumayyil is Camille Chamoun's control of sources of finance and arms, smuggling, Israeli weapons shipments, Saudi money and the timing of battles with other involved parties.

This basic dispute between the two extreme factions led to the breakdown of security and an exchange of liquidations between the two parties, including several of their leaders (refer to the previous issue of AL-HURRIYAH), until the Phalangist Party charged the National Liberal leader (al-Zaghlul) with the al-Tahwilah incident and the killing of two of Bashir al-Jumayyil's followers.

Friday morning, the bodies of al-Zaghlul's brother-in-law, Ilyas Sufayr, and his brother were found butchered in their home at al-Tahwilah, near the Phalangist Party's headquarters.

Following that double crime, the circle of clashes grew wider, extending from district to district and street to street until it reached the 'Ain al-Rummanah area.

Saturday night, some Phalangist elements blew up and completely destroyed the National Liberals' office in Sarba (Juniyah) and their center in Safra (Kisirwan).

Sunday morning, Amin al-Jumayyil was murdered on the Mutaylib/Bikfaya road, and the Phalangists retaliated the same day by assassinating Farid Zaydan, the military chief for the National Liberal Party in Kisirwan.

At the same time, the National Liberals blew up seven Phalangist Party centers in Furn al-Smrah, 'Ain al-Rummanah, al-Tahwilah and Sami al-Sulh [areas]. On the same day, an armed clash occurred between the two parties in Beit Miri, which was quickly brought under control.

Until Sunday evening, the above district was closed to the Phalangists and the National Liberals were in control; then the unification of the two parties was declared and joint forces entered the district to put an end to the clashes.

Observers report that the situation in that district is dangerous, and threatens further violence.

LEBANON

TWO FEMALE MILITIA MEMBERS ANSWER QUESTIONS ON WAR

London AL-HAWADITH in Arabic 18 May 79 pp 100-102

[Interview with female militia members by editor Fawzi Haddad: "A Farewell to Arms"; date and place not given]

[Text] They left school to carry rifles; and then they left the rifles to go back to school.

The fighting has stopped in Lebanon, and a white dove is painted on hotel entrances to show optimism about the peace that all parties have been preaching. It is a good opportunity to put the girls who have carried rifles in the spotlight, beginning with the Phalangist Party female fighters.

The first girl has a fair complexion, is of medium height, is 23 years old, and her name is Josline Khuwayri, group leader of the "B.J." female brigade of the Phalangist Party. The second girl has a dark complexion, is also of medium height; she is 19 years old. She did not divulge her real name, declaring that her combat name was "King." She is a member of the "S.K.S." organization in the Phalangist Party. Josline Khuwayri was in the spotlight. During the last 2 years of battles in the markets of Beirut, she managed the barricade erected in front of the Regent Hotel, accompanied by other Phalange fighters. The lights gradually faded as the 2-year war came to an end and the country entered a shaky peace cycle.

Since fighters inevitably come home after all wars in the world, leave their barricade behind, put their weapons aside and return to where they came from--home, the workplace, school or university; and because there seems to be de-escalation of the Lebanese crisis, I interviewed the two girl fighters, Josline and King.

[Question] (to Josline) What are you doing currently?

[Answer] The same as you are, in the same profession.

[Question] Meaning what?

[Answer] I am in my fourth year of study in journalism at the Lebanese University.

[Question] Why did you choose journalism?

[Answer] Because it is a profession that provides for contact with people and also learning something new each day.

[Question] When did you become a Phalange member?

[Answer] I have supported the party since I was 13 years old. I actually joined in 1973. When the war broke out, I joined in the defense of Lebanon side by side with my comrades.

[Question] When did you learn how to use weapons? Is it also true that you are one of the best shots?

[Answer] I learned how to use light, not heavy, weapons in the mid-70's. As for the other question, I apologize for not being able to answer it.

[Question] What does a rifle mean to you?

[Answer] (with evident sorrow) The rifle is only a means you are forced to use when you reach a dead-end where all other means of communication and persuasion fail.

[Question] Have you experienced fear at any time during an attack or any other war operation?

[Answer] Fear is a human trait. Every human being fears a sudden danger. However, control of that fear is the important thing. Further, good training and practice ensure the elimination of that fear.

[Question] How did you feel when a companion died in a battle?

[Answer] In fact, I was very sad at the beginning of the war when a companion of mine was killed in front of my eyes, and he was an ideal person in every way. At that time, I knew how high a price one has to pay in defending his country.

[Question] Have you had contact with any prisoners? How did you relate to them?

[Answer] One day a Palestinian female prisoner was brought in. I took good care of her, personally giving her food and water. We became friends after a short period of time.

[Question] What do you think of the Palestinian cause and commandos' activities?



[Answer] The Palestinian case is a rightful cause, and commando activity is an honorable activity. I had a lot of enthusiasm for this cause until the Palestinians declared war against us.

[Question] Do you think the war is over?

[Answer] I don't think so, the reason being that there are still some districts I am not allowed into. This means the war is still on. In any event, even if the military war ends sooner or later, the combat will still not be over at all levels.

[Question] When were you very happy, and when did you cry a lot?

[Answer] There are times when I am extremely happy, and these are the times when I experience victory, even if the victory is over myself. I feel sad, but I cannot say that I cry, at times when I feel that what we will reap is less than the price we paid. In other words, I feel sad when I see the big players of the international game are contemptuous of human value when dealing with small peoples, because their own interests take precedence over anything else. However, I am very happy to see that we were able with our great steadfastness to thwart the greatest world conspiracy. They (world powers) thought that small nations are pieces on a chess board which they can move anytime they want; it did not occur to them that there are pieces that cannot be moved.

[Question] Have you ever been in love?

[Answer] I have not been in love until now, because my commitment to the party takes up all my time, and because I pledged myself to my country's cause.

[Question] What do you read?

[Answer] I read philosophical and political books, and I read books by Karl Marx and Hegel.

[Question] Do you like using make-up?

[Answer] Never, because I like to stay natural. If the inside does not match the outside appearance, then this would be the utmost in ugliness.

Justine stopped talking, giving a chance to her friend.

[Question] (to King) Isn't this a name more fit for a boy than a girl?

[Answer] (Laughingly) The truth is that all my acquaintances call me Mr King.

[Question] What are you doing today?

[Answer] I work in a commercial firm.

[Question] What is your educational background?

[Answer] High school education.

[Question] Why didn't you join the university?

[Answer] For financial reasons. When I am financially able, I'll pursue my university education.

[Question] What do you intend to be in the future?

[Answer] I wanted to become a police detective. But, unfortunately, this profession is not available [to women] in our country.

[Question] When did you join the Phalangist Party?

[Answer] I have supported the party since I was 10 years old, but I became officially committed in 1975.

[Question] When did you learn how to use weapons?

[Answer] A short period before the war began. When I went behind the barricades, I was not very proficient in using weapons. But, with practice and experience, I became one of the most skillful in warfare.

[Question] What does a rifle mean to you?

[Answer] As Josline said, it is only an instrument that you use reluctantly when all avenues of dialogue are cut off.

[Question] Have you been afraid during the war?

[Answer] I cannot deny that I was afraid sometimes, but I used to overcome such feelings because the goal I was working for was very powerful, moving me to go on my way no matter how dangerous that was.

[Question] How did you react when a companion of yours fell?

[Answer] Every human being feels sad when losing a companion whom they met at the barricade. I have lost some companions whose memory still lingers in my mind. I have met lots of prisoners and treated them in a human manner, because it is dishonorable to torture an unarmed prisoner.

[Question] What is your view of the Palestinian cause and commandos' activities?

[Answer] I was one of the first supporters of the cause, but my enthusiasm froze after our war with the Palestinians, because they initiated this war.

If it is possible to say that the military war is over, the social war will begin and be another new burden on Lebanon.

[Question] When were you very happy, and when did you cry a lot?

[Answer] Frankly, I have not been happy yet, because I have not reached my exalted goal, which is freeing my country, although we have accomplished some progress towards that. If I may put it this way, I cried because the life of a human being in Lebanon has become cheaper than the bullet that had been fired during this ugly war.

[Question] Have you ever fallen in love?

[Answer] I do not have any time for that.

[Question] What do you read?

[Answer] I read newspapers and magazines, and I like detective stories.

[Question] Are you, with Josline, against using make-up?

[Answer] She is right. Why all this paint?

This was a glimpse at the life of the women who left the university for a period of time to go into a trench or behind a barricade.

The truth may shock you or please you.

In either case, the truth remains that there were girls who carried weapons and fought, then returned to their social roles when the language of weapons ceased to be the language needed in Lebanon.

W455

CSO: 4802

STRENGTHENING OF FIGHTING FRONTS URGED IN LIGHT OF PEACE TREATY

Al-Duha AL-ARAB in Arabic 12 May 79 p 3

[Editorial by Ali Mahmoud Husayn: "The War of Extermination in the Shadow of the Treaty"]

[Text] The hostile tripartite alliance which is composed of the parties to the unilateral peace treaty realizes very well that the area cannot encompass untruth and consequently cannot encompass the treaty of capitulation, nor can the Palestinians, even aside from the Rejection Arabs, embrace a deal to sell honor, Arab rights, and Islamic holy places.

Because this alliance is only trying to achieve its purposes, epitomized by carrying through the treaty which guarantees the enemy the occupation of Palestine from the Jordan to the sea and Golan, in preparation for further expansionist steps in order to achieve the Zionist dream of "Greater Israel" from the Euphrates to the Nile.

In addition, one member of this alliance wishes to change the Middle East into a line of first defense against the Eastern military camp for the benefit of the Western camp led by Washington, guardian of the Zionist occupation.

In the shadow of Sadat's peace, the Arab soil and its wealth opposes the Zionist peril and its unlimited greed and the American covetous desire for complete hegemony over the Arab nations and Arab petroleum.

Therefore this stage of undertaking evil in the name of peace has been marked by intensifying American political and Zionist military attacks against the Arab nation.

That longtime terrorist Menahem Begin has not dared to boast about the threats to launch a war of extermination against the Palestinians, even if a tacit agreement exists among the three treaty members for that, because the Palestinians represent the violent winds behind which stands the Arab nation from the Atlantic to the Gulf, which will topple the treaty and its public and secret annexes.

In the shadow of a deal to sell out the land, the cause, and the Arab nation, the attacks have mounted, translated in Southern Lebanon by Zionist aircraft mowing down Arab civilians.

It is only a gradual step from what is happening in Southern Lebanon to the Syrian front and from there to the Jordanian front.

Therefore, in the face of these continuous Zionist attacks which have recurred semi-daily against the Lebanese and the Palestinians in the South, the nation must take steps to meet the danger coming from the south which is provoking Syria, since the political goal is to drag the Arabs into a new war with the expansion of the Syrian front. This requires the Arab nation to hasten military preparations by an actual strengthening of the fighting fronts.

7005

CSO: 4802

## PROBLEMS WITH NEW PUBLIC HOUSING PLAN DISCUSSED

Al-Duha AL-ARAB in Arabic 12 May 79 p 6

[Interview with the director of public housing for Arabs: "A New Plan Comprises 2000 Public Housing Units; Free Housing for the Aged Will Begin To Be Distributed Soon; We Have Requests by the Thousands; It Is Necessary To Assess the Circumstances"]

[Text] It was necessary to make a precise appointment beforehand, so that we could begin this talk in order that you could have this report.

Not because the man refuses to speak, not because he does not wish to cooperate with the media, and not because he does not have anything to say, but rather completely the opposite. He is very cooperative with any media organ, or rather he wants to communicate whatever he says to all the people as clearly and strongly as possible.

Also he has plenty to say and has strong justifications for that. However, his previous remarks led to a huge crowd, difficult for his office, a great number of returnees who returned by the hundreds, whose number has increased in recent days so that one cannot contain them, or calculate their number, or ascertain how many times they have returned.

At this point, the meeting with Khalifah al-Nasr, the director of the Office of Public Housing in the Ministry of Labor and Social Affairs, became lively.

The man has every right in view of the heavy workload that he carries, and every right, in that he tells the people what he knows--all the people--who want to benefit from a public housing unit for a free house.

### Letters by the Thousands

It is sufficient for us to know that Khalifah al-Nasr, as soon as you ask him a question, responds to you at once.

"We have thousands of letters, the writers of which have either received or are about to receive places on the waiting list, or there are those standing at the door, submitting their requests. This is true, but certainly everyone knows that we proceed in the public interest and circumstances control us.



Perhaps these are beyond what they want or what we want, but one should have no doubt or uncertainty that every day we announce our full responsibilities, and we call for the need for confidence in every official. Organization will certainly be our course, but it will not respond to the throng or to repeated requests piling up to which we have frequently already responded with advice. Indeed, we found that people have completely rejected what we have said and have acted again as if the officials did not exist!"

I have thought a little about Khalifah al-Nasr's words, and I have found that probably what he says is true. They--he and those with him--are in fact justified, and here I asked him, after he has been stirred up by opening some of the letters, is it possible for us to know exactly the number of those submitting requests?

"If you mean those applying for free houses, I can tell you that their number, i.e., the number of their letters, amounts to 1830, and if you mean the public housing unit, their number has reached 7158. You can imagine the responsibility of the state toward these numbers, and it's responding to all these requests in accordance with merit."

Those Entitled

/Question/ Can we be informed as to whom is entitled to a house by the state through your office?

/Answer/ Those entitled have been limited by a law pertaining to that.

/Question/ What does it say, or what does it include?

/Answer/ First, there are several stipulations and after that, the applicant is entitled to use a public or free housing unit by these stipulations:

that he is of Qatari nationality;

that he submits to a medical examination;

that he not own any real property whatsoever;

or that the house which he owns be unsuitable for dwelling from a technical or health aspect;

that he be someone of limited income.

/Question/ Since we have examined the specifications of entitlement to a public housing unit, can we know the specificants of the dwelling itself?

/Answer/ At the present time, each public housing unit has the same specifications--there is only one type--and it has three upstairs rooms, a sitting room, a dining room and their appurtenances.

[Question] Land?

[Answer] The area of land surface varies from 70 feet by 70 feet to 80 by 80 feet.

#### Complaints After Receipt

[Question] What do you think about the complaints we are hearing at present from some of the people regarding their housing unit--after they took delivery--that its lack of suitability became clear or that it had certain technical defects, or pertaining to the construction and cracks in the foundations? Have you taken any actions in this regard, or is your connection with that matter not topical?

[Answer] In the face of this phenomenon which has in fact occurred, we here in our office have made a decision to have tests conducted by our competent engineer, who is required to carry out a strict test on all the public housing units received from the Ministry of Public Works after its completion in order to ensure its suitability before turning it over to its owner. Then we obtain an affidavit of that from them in order that we can avoid the complaints which come to us from the owners of these units after delivery is taken.

[Question] Can we conclude our response by asking you about the most important and most prominent of the phenomena regarding which the people have complained after taking delivery?

[Answer] The cause of the most prominent of these is attributable to the negligence of some contractors, and they are various innumerable things. They are being overcome.

#### Exchange

[Question] Regarding the matter of exchange, and I mean the mutual exchange of one house for another at the request of the owners of the two houses after they have taken delivery of their houses, what is the Office's viewpoint regarding that, and what is the procedure vis-a-vis these requests?

[Answer] Mutual exchange after delivery is a factor which hinders our work. We see it constantly, since the beneficiary of an exchange requests a house for a house. Naturally the action of exchange is something not mentioned in the law, but is a facility for us to assist those persons. We make sure that the exchange is only intended for the private benefit of the two parties concerned, and consequently the public interest, without injuring anyone else, and is in compliance with the wish of the beneficiary that he be located in a house among his family and his tribe. Accordingly, it comes from the beneficiary after delivery.

## Payment

[Question] What about payment, payment of the cost of the house, its method and period of time?

[Answer] The housing unit currently costs between 160 and 165,000 Qatari riyals, according to the areas.

Payment is made over 20 or 25 years on the average of 60 percent of the total amount for the house.

The remainder of the amount is carried by the state as assistance to the citizens, and 10,000 riyals without compensation is also allowed as assistance for furnishing the house.

## Housing for the Aged

[Question] We have heard about a new plan for housing especially for the aged. Can you tell us something about that?

[Answer] It is called the project for old age housing, and it gives a free house to all those to whom the stipulations of age apply. The house is composed of one bedroom, a large room, and its appurtenances for one person, both within and outside of al-Duha.

In addition to that, which gives two rooms, there are three rooms, a sitting room, and their appurtenances according to the number in the family submitting the application.

[Question] Has delivery of the type of housing begun?

[Answer] Construction is presently underway, and as soon as it is finished, delivery will begin.

## New This Year

[Question] Can you tell us the new numbers of public housing units which will be delivered this year and also the projects?

[Answer] It is sufficient for us to know that 2,000 houses will be completed this year. One thousand of them are located in the area of the Transmission Station, and the second 1,000 at scattered places in the environs of al-Duha. We are setting aside for this project the applications from those who will benefit, and the applications are located in the Ministry of Public Works.

7005  
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## BRIEFS

NEW JUDGES APPOINTED--His highness Shaykh Khalifah Ibn Hamad Al-Thani, amir of our beloved country, has issued a decree appointing 'Ali Naser Al-Nu'aymi, Yusef Ahmad Al-Zaman, Ahmad Yusef Fakhru, and Mubarak Khalifah Al-'Asiri as judges in the lower court of summary justice. His highness also issued a decree creating an Office of Public Medical Commissioners in the Ministry of Public Health, and organizing its responsibilities. /Text/ /Al-Duha  
AL-AHD in Arabic 8 May 79 p 4/ 7005

CSO: 4802

## BRIEFS

ASSASSINATION ATTEMPT--Quoting Arab diplomatic sources in Beirut, the Lebanese News Agency reports that an attempt has been made to assassinate Rif'at al-Asad. The agency adds that the attempt on the life of Dr Rif'at al-Asad, the brother of President Hafiz al-Asad and commander of the Syrian defense detachments, was made at his house in al-Jabbanah and that he has been taken to a European capital, probably Paris, for treatment. The agency goes on to report that a TNT explosive, weighing approximately 100 kilograms, was placed near the house of Rif'at al-Asad but that he escaped and that some of his guards were killed or wounded. The defense detachments forces reacted violently. They retaliated against at least 100 persons. It is noted that an atmosphere of fear is now prevailing in Syria and that there is a state of full alert in various cities and villages. [Text] [Voice of Lebanon [Clandestine] in Arabic to Lebanon 1717 GMT 25 Jun 79 NC]

INTERNATIONAL GROUP BEHIND MASSACRE--Kuwait, 24 June--In a dispatch from Washington the Kuwaiti newspaper AL-QABAS has quoted well-informed sources as saying that the Aleppo massacre, which claimed the lives of 50 officer cadets, is part of a plan to shake the stability of the Middle East OPEC countries and of those regimes which oppose the Camp David agreement. The paper says: This incident was the result of a secret meeting held by an influential secret organization called the (Bilderburger) group in the Austrian city of Baden. During this meeting the increasing instability in the Middle East was discussed in light of a working paper prepared on the subject by Professor (Thierry de Montreal), chairman of the French International Relations Institute. The paper adds: This top secret working paper proposes ideas on how to deal with countries such as Syria and discusses the appropriate ways to topple certain regimes in the Middle East. The paper says: The (Bilderburger) group includes prominent politicians and financiers from the Western world. Among those who attended the Baden meeting in their personal capacity were senior U.S. officials including David Newsom, who is considered the third man in the U.S. State Department, and David E. McGiffert, assistant secretary of defense for international security affairs, who recently visited Israel and Egypt. The paper adds: Zbigniew Brzezinski, assistant to the president for national security affairs, and Henry Kissinger, former U.S. secretary of state, are members in the organization. However, they did not attend the Baden meeting but were informed of its secret decisions and recommendations. The paper concludes: Bernard, a nonofficial member of Mossad, the Israeli intelligence service, exchanges secret information with the (Bilderburger) group. [Text] [Doha QNA in Arabic 0800 GMT 24 Jun 79 JN]

MEMBERS OF SECRET POLICE MURDERED--Three officials of the Syrian Secret Police were murdered in Hama last week, according to a good source in Beirut. The three men were Alawites just as have been the victims of numerous attacks which have taken place in recent weeks in Damascus, Aleppo, Homs and Hama, which cities are all predominantly Sunni. [Paris LE MONDE in French 13 Jun 79 p 3]

CSO: 4800



REPORTER WITH SPANISH COMMUNIST DELEGATION DESCRIBES VISIT

Madrid MUNDO OBRERO SEMANAL in Spanish 10-16 May 79 pp 16-18

[Article by Jose Boloix]

[Text] It is very difficult to get an idea of what the POLISARIO Front [People's Front for the Liberation of the Western Sahara] is without experiencing with the Saharans their war and their world, their revolution and their efforts. It is a universe so close and yet so far that it impresses one to the point of being bloodcurdling. MUNDO OBRERO SEMANAL spent 7 days in the Saharan Democratic Arab Republic [SDAR] as part of a delegation from the Communist Party of Spain [PCE] that was especially invited for the purpose of becoming familiar on the spot with the reality of POLISARIO.

The delegation was headed by Jordi Solé Tura, Communist member of Congress and member of the Central Committee. Marcos Ana--of the Central Committee--went along especially as the man in charge of the tasks of solidarity for which the PCE's International Commission is responsible. The delegation was rounded out by a doctor (Pedro Caba), a teacher (Paloma Portela) and the special correspondent from MUNDO OBRERO SEMANAL.

Closer Political Relations

The delegation was welcomed by Mohamed Aba-Deleziz, secretary general of the POLISARIO Front and chairman of the Revolutionary Council, and various ministers and political leaders of the Saharan Democratic Arab Republic, all of whom showed a special interest in exchanging political information and strengthening relations of all kinds.

Coinciding with the PCE delegation's visit to POLISARIO was a visit by Prime Minister Suarez to Algiers, where he met with the head of POLISARIO and several of the front's leaders, thus giving recognition--in practice--to the Saharan political organization.

The PCE delegation drew up a joint communique with POLISARIO in liberated territory. That communique sums up basic questions concerned with mutual cooperation between the two political groups.

Jordi Sole Tura

Jordi Sole Tura explained during the visit and on his return that "the Saharan people have an impressive spirit of national unity, with the result that the population is highly receptive to the POLISARIO Front, which has achieved a politico-military advance equivalent to an astonishing victory.

"It is not that the POLISARIO Front has already won its war of liberation aimed at expelling Moroccans and Mauritians from its territory, but rather that it has not lost it. And that is equivalent to a victory, because the earliest political analyses predicted that the POLISARIO Front would be crushed militarily. At present it has practically defeated the Mauritians, who have agreed to return the territory assigned to them in the tripartite agreements of Madrid. And Hassan II's power is breaking down before the military vitality of the Saharan people, who are amazingly held together by the POLISARIO Front.

"The time has come for major negotiations, and Spain should take part in them, exchanging its policy toward the Maghreb for another very different one with more realistic positions. Because Spain would receive preferential treatment from the Saharan Democratic Arab Republic if it acted in a manner consistent with our new democratic phase."

#### A People's Revolutionary Vitality

Our impression of POLISARIO could not have been more positive from any point of view. With our own astounded eyes we were able to see 400-bed hospitals standing in the middle of the torrid sands. And schools with thousands of children where the process of learning to read and write is in full swing. And military academies where young people of both sexes are developing alongside soldiers, guerrilla fighters, and more mature persons who are prepared to die in order to win freedom for their people.

We were even able to observe day nurseries (!) in the middle of the desert, where they were among the facilities of a camp for the military and cultural education of women.

The entire people is organized politically from the bottom up, beginning with the cell as the basic unit. And all major political decisions are reached after extensive people's debates in which all opinions are taken into account.

In that way it has been possible to solve a set of enormous problems. From the question of supplies in the middle of the desert to the problem of teaching 80 percent of the population to read and write within 3 very difficult years--in the midst of a war against two countries (Hassan II's Morocco and

Mauritania) and their big allies. (Meaning France in the case of Mauritania. And previous Spanish governments in the case of Hassan II, whom they--and other countries--have provided with arms by various routes.)

It would be possible to mobilize practically the entire Saharan people within a matter of minutes thanks to POLISARIO's radio stations, which provide information every workday concerning politico-military events of interest to the people.

Whether under their tents or perched on their jeeps (POLISARIO's new "motorized camels"), the Saharans maintain constant contact with the front's leadership, which has created an extremely efficient information network that reaches everywhere.

The Ministry of Information's secretary for interior explained to us: "And we have very good informants without the need for extensive training. To be a good informant, two things are essential: clarity in one's ideas and a solid political viewpoint."

The population's support is beyond all doubt. In practice, it is unconditional. Many families have walked across 500 kilometers of desert in order to join POLISARIO. A black fighter walked almost 1,000 kilometers alone to reach the camps.

The children in the schools are organized politically and are responsible for a number of tasks which they carry out conscientiously.

When necessary, the old people and the women make big mud blocks and bricks with which to build schools and hospitals. All the people work, building peace on the foundation of a very difficult war.

#### Strange Parking Habits

The degree of responsibility shown by POLISARIO members can be made understandable to our minds if we analyze a detail which is seemingly unimportant but which demonstrates a really solid undergirding.

One of the regular jeep drivers drove across the desert to Algiers to transact some business. Accustomed to driving in "open country" through the Sahara, he parked his jeep improperly in the city of Algiers. On returning from taking care of his business, he found a block of the kind used to immobilize improperly parked automobiles. Since he could not find anyone to whom to pay his fine and have the block removed, he removed the gadget in an instant and placed it in his vehicle. He then continued his rounds and completed every piece of business he had to transact. And once he had fulfilled his duties as a member of POLISARIO, he presented himself at a police station to return the block and explain that he had removed it because "I had a number of duties to attend to, and they come before everything else." The astonished policemen told him: "You can go, but... don't do it again."

For POLISARIO members, the struggle comes first. Everything else comes after that.

### The Desert Against Its Enemies

They know the Sahara like the backs of their hands, and they are able to cross it in all directions, finding the water necessary for life and carrying it in the skins of the same goats that they use for food (fresh or thoroughly dried and then rehydrated with water).

The simoo--a hot, sand-laden wind--is one of the natural antiaircraft weapons in alliance with the colossuses of the desert. Summer temperature--up to 70 degrees Celsius--is another of their important allies, because it immobilizes fighters who have never experienced such temperatures.

The absence of roads, the lack of water, and the nonexistence of food decimate the invaders day after day, while the Saharans are able to continue fighting because of their familiarity with the terrain, their adaptation to the climate and living conditions, and their spirit of victory.

We were able to talk with prisoners of war being held by POLISARIO, and they explained basically three things: they had been fighting the Saharans in the belief that they were something quite different from what they actually turned out to be; they regard as just the claims of the Saharans to their territory and their independence; and they do not regard as just the help that certain self-styled democratic countries are giving to the armies fighting against POLISARIO.

The Saharans considered it just to share their food and clothing with their prisoners, and although the latter receive the treatment normally accorded prisoners of war--subordination and the loss of freedom--they have never felt in their flesh the kind of treatment that might have been meted out by another kind of victorious army carried away by the high feeling aroused by an incredibly tough war.

### Hassan's and Mauritania's Allies

While General Franco lay dying, Carlos Arias Navarro was preparing to cede the Sahara to Hassan II and Mauritania, thus benefiting the stockholders of the Fos-Bucraa phosphate mines and the big shipowners who wanted to "Moroccanize" fishing. (He was aided in his preparations by Solis Ruiz, Martinez Carro, the Plerros, and others.)

At the same time, a big maneuver was underway to benefit the interests of the United States in connection with--among other things--domination of the Mediterranean and control of the sea routes used by Persian Gulf oil tankers on their way to Europe. At the same time as well, the groundwork was being laid for Spain's incorporation into NATO and its alignment with the proimperialist military bloc on the pretext of defending the Canary Islands.

This was being done through secret and public agreements between the United States and certain Spanish politicians who are divorced from our country's social reality.

Thanks to the "sale" of the Sahara to Hassan and Mauritania, there was surrender to the pressures exerted by the Moroccan monarch, who used and still uses political blackmail--based on the issues of Ceuta, Melilla, and fishing--to obtain one concession after another as a result of our indecisive and negative traditional foreign policy.

Thanks to defective formulations, our government's compromises with big capital, and the deafening defeats of people such as Adolfo Suarez, Oreja Aguirre, and Sanchez Teran, our relations with Morocco, Algeria, and the Saharan Democratic Arab Republic have resulted in a situation as confused as it is uncertain, although what is required are lucidity and decisiveness. Thanks to the mistakes committed by those politicians and people like them, our southern fishing fleet is at the mercy of a monarch--Hassan II--who has been made stronger by the mistakes of our highest government leaders.

#### POLISARIO Has Real Weight

Today circumstances have changed in the Western Sahara, and the POLISARIO Front has changed the unstable political equilibrium in the Maghreb by tipping the scales in its own favor.

This demands a realistic policy and official support for the government of the SDAR, which is a living reality with unquestionable strength.

We have seen them living and fighting in the desert. They embraced us and gave us their promises, bread, and friendship. Their hand would be extended to Spanish democracy if our rulers would correct their errors and abandon defense of the big capital linked to Morocco and Mauritania to defend instead two peoples--the Spanish and the Saharan--who have very little in common with the Fierros and Giscard, with the CIA and Solis, or with Arias and Franco.

There is still time, and the Communist Party of Spain is prepared to intensify its efforts in Parliament and in the street on behalf of justice and simple common sense, which has been so completely abandoned by so many of our illustrious politicians on the right, who--like Oreja--seem to be pursuing a policy by ear.

The alternative is clear: either the CIA or POLISARIO. Either the Fierros or our fishing. Either Franco or progress.

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CSO: 4410



## SPANISH WEAPONS USED AGAINST POLISARIO

Madrid MUNDO OÍ RO SEMANAL in Spanish 10-16 May 79 p 18

[Text] At one of the military bases of the POLISARIO Front [People's Front for the Liberation of the Western Sahara], we were able to see hundreds of CETME rifles, Land Rover vehicles--especially designed for desert warfare--and cannon mounted on Spanish gun carriages--on vehicles--that have fallen into the hands of the Saharan fighters.

It is perfectly clear that those fighting POLISARIO have used and are using Spanish armament that has reached their hands through means that it would be fitting to know.

### Some Data on Gun Carriages

Because of their special importance, we are reproducing here the exact identification plates that we saw on some of the armament.

For example, one such plate reads: "Carriage for 106-mm cannon S/R M 79. Seville Artillery Factory. No 2280. Date: May 1976. Weight: 89 kilograms." (On a Land Rover.)

Similar texts on other gun carriages included the following numbers and dates: "No 2259, April 1976"; "No 2294, May 1976"; "No 2417, October 1976"; "No 2451, December 1976"; "No 2428, October 1976"; and "No 2226, April 1976."

### More Data on Mortar Baseplates

We were also able to observe identification plates on mortar baseplates from the ECIA I-N [Esperanza and Company], Marquina, Spain. A few of the manufacturer's numbers and dates of construction follow: "No 5, 1976"; "No 242, 1977"; "No 11, 1976"; "No 87, 1976"; and "No 19, 1976."

As we said, the CETME automatic rifles number in the hundreds. And the Land Rovers in the dozens. All of them wound up in the hands of POLISARIO, which



seized them from the enemy in the course of armed encounters. The result is that, paradoxically, the POLISARIO fighters are using a number of Spanish weapons.

#### PCE-POLISARIO Communique

One of the tangible political consequences of the visit by the Communist Party of Spain [PCE] to the POLISARIO Front was the drawing up of a joint communique. It was signed on 2 May in the liberated territory of the Saharan Democratic Arab Republic [SDAR].

In that communique it is specified that the PCE delegation visited hospitals, schools, refugee camps, military bases, and so on and participated in meetings and people's events.

The interviews with political leaders and the special contact with the front's secretary general are also reported.

The communique explains: "The two delegations agreed that establishment of the SDAR throughout the national territory constitutes the only guarantee of peace, equilibrium, and stability in the zone and even of the consolidation of democracy in Spain."

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July 16, 1979



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